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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archæologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archæologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

ARCHAEOLOGIA;

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I. *A Dissertation on St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, an illuminated MS. of the 10th Century, in the Library of his Grace the* DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE; *communicated by* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F. R. S., Director, in a Letter to the Right Honourable* GEORGE EARL OF ABERDEEN, *President, &c.*

Read 12th and 19th January, 1832.

MY LORD,

The ancient custom of Episcopal Benediction on the fraction of the host shewn; together with the Roman form.

I. IT was an ancient custom for the Bishop, before he received the Eucharist in the sacrifice of the Mass,[a] to bless the people in a form of prayer appropriate to the feast of the day. This solemn obsecration was made on the fraction of the host, and as that was the time at which a blessing was asked for the living, so also was it the special moment, when, according to

[a] The Mass derives its name from the Latin *Missio*, or, *Dimissio populi*, and in this sense it was received in the fourth Council of Carthage, held in 398, can. 84. *Episcopus nullum prohibeat usque ad Missam Catechumenorum, neque Hæreticum, neque Judæum, neque Gentilem,*

the Anglo-Saxon[b] Mass for the dead, on the day of the burial, the deceased was prayed for, by name.

These benedictions were emphatically called ***Postulationes***, as we learn from St. Augustine, epist. 59, ad Paulinum, qu. 5. ***Interpellationes autem, sive, ut nostri codices habent, postulationes fiunt cum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim Antistites velut advocati susceptos suos per manuum impositionem misericordissime offerunt Potestati: quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio cuncta concludit.*** And, Haymon,[c] cap. 2. Epist. i. ad Timotheum, says, ***Postulationes sunt Benedictiones Episcopales, quas dicit Episcopus super populum, invocans nomen Domini super illum.***

That this blessing was given originally by the imposition of hands, ap-

Ecclesiam ingredi & audire verbum Dei: that is to say, none were to be prevented being present in the church until the dismissal of the Catechumens, who, after the instruction, and before the offertory, retired upon the Deacon's crying out, *Catechumeni, recedite.* Only the faithful were then allowed to remain. This is further explained by St. Augustine, Serm. 49, cap. 8. De Verbis Domini: *Ecce post sermonem fit Missa Catechumenorum, manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis;* and St. Isidore, lib. 6 De orig. vocum, cap. 16. says, *Missa est tempore Sacrificii, quando Catechumeni foràs mittuntur, clamante Levitâ: si quis Catechumenus remansit, exeat foras: & inde Missa, quia sacramentis altaris interesse non possunt, qui nondùm regenerati noscuntur.* If, therefore, the *Missa Catechumenorum* took its name from the dismissal of the Catechumens, so the *Missa Fidelium* took its name from the dismissal of the faithful on the Deacon's exclaiming *Ite, Missa est.* Hence, the part of the liturgy, from the *introit* to the ending of the Gospel, and its exposition, was called the Mass of the Catechumens, and that which followed was called the Mass of the Faithful.

Though this is the origin of the word, it has been variously applied; but in the ordinary acceptation the Mass signifies the whole celebration of the Divine Sacrifice, concerning which the Council of Trent has defined, *Si quis dixerit in Missa non offerri Deo verum & proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud, quàm nobis Christum ad manducandum dari; anathema sit.*—Item, *si quis dixerit illis verbis: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse Apostolos Sacerdotes: aut non ordinasse ut ipsi aliique Sacerdotes offerrent corpus & sanguinem suum; anathema sit.*

[b] Missale Roberti Archiep. Cantuar. MS. Sæc. XI. Num. 34, in Bibl. Publ. Rothomag. fol. 221 v. "Missa in die depositionis defuncti. In fractione. *Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi pro anima famuli tui (ill') offerimus quem hodie carnali corrup' liberasti, Q's, D'ne, ut placatus accipias, et quicquid humanæ conditionis obreptione contraxit, expedias ut tuis purificata remediis ad gaudium sempiternum perveniat.*"

[c] Haymo Halberstadensis Episcopus An. 853. Homil. in evang. et epist. per annum.

pears in the passage cited from St. Augustine, which is confirmed [d] in certain passages from St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, on which the learned Menard, of the Congregation of St. Maur, has commented in his notes to the Gregorian Sacramentary. Hence, in the second council of Milevis held in 416, these forms of benediction are styled impositions of hands, ***Placuit etiam illud, ut preces, vel orationes, vel missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, sive manuum impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur.*** Can. 12. At a later age, the ceremony of imposition of hands was disused, and the sign of the Cross alone accompanied the benediction of the people.

These Episcopal benedictions must not be confounded with the ordinary sacerdotal benediction which occurs at the end of the Mass after ***Ite, Missa est***, and to which the Council of Agde, held in 506, refers in its 47th Canon, enjoining that the people should not presume to retire before the benediction was given.[e] The special benedictions here treated of, which consisted of three, and sometimes of four parts, with a conclusion, were given, as I have already said, before Communion, and the manner of giving them is thus explained in the Roman Pontifical, dedicated to Pope Leo X., printed at Venice in 1520.

Qñ & quatr solēnis ep̄alis bñdictio dꝫ dari.[f]

Solēnis ep̄alis bñdictio diciť & datur ad missā ī dñcis dieb⁹ in festiuitatib⁹ dñi bťe marie aptorum martyr cōfessoꝝ virginū in dedicationib⁹ ecctiaꝝ & altariū. In anniuersario dedicatiōis eoꝝ in cōsecratiōib⁹ ep̄oꝝ in bñdictiōibus virginū: in ordinatiōib⁹ clericorū & in aliis solēnitatib⁹. Que bñdictio fit hoc modo. Nā post oťonē dñicā dicto *Per o'ia sc'la seculoꝝ* et rñso, *Ame'*. Pōtifex subsistit & tūc pticulā hostie quā

d *Cur ergo manus imponitis, et benedictionis opus creditis?* S. Ambr. lib. 1 de pænitentia, ca. 7. *Extentâ manu, ut benedicere eos putes, si nescias, pretia accipiunt salutandi.* S. Hieronymus epist. ad Eustochium. Menard in his Commentary shews that these passages refer to special benedictions in the Mass. Notæ & observ. p. 27, 28.

e Fleury and others would refer this precept to the Episcopal benediction before communion; but their opinion Menard clearly disproves.

f Fol. 236, v. The order of benediction in the ancient Pontifical of the Church of Chalon agrees with the Pontifical of Leo X. Martene de Antiq. eccl. rit. Rothomag. tom. I 586.

tenet inter digitos supra os calicis sup patenā caute deponit. Et mox inclinās reuerēter iunctis manib⁹ corpi et sanguini dñi patenā cū oībus hostie ꝑticulis calici supponit et totū simul cū alba palla corporali decēter opit: & post mitrā resumit. Sane dū hec fiunt dicto *P' o'ia sc'la sc'loꝝ*, & rñso Amē. Diacon⁹ ad populū cōuersus baculū pastoralē in manibus tenens dicit alta voce cum nota. *Humiliate vos ad benedictione'*. Et chor⁹ rñdet *Deo gratias*. Vel in maiorb⁹ solēnitatib⁹ regentes chori vel alii aliq̄ añ gradus p quos ascēdit̄ in ꝑsbyteriū cōstituti statim rñso post *Per o'ia se'la sc'loꝝ*. Amē. Cātāt alta voce. *Princeps ecclesie pastor ouilis tu nos benedicere digneris*. Tūc diaco⁹ ad illos c̄uersus baculū pastoralē tenēs ī manib⁹ dic̄ *Cu' ma'suetudine et caritate hu'iliate vos ad b'n'dictione'*. Quo dicto totus chor⁹ dicit, Hūili voce clamātes atq3 dicentes. *Deo gr'as semp' agam⁹*. Eps ppł3 solēniter bñdicitur⁹ ꝑus dicit sequētē oronē secre· et ho ꝑuet ī oīb⁹ sequētib⁹ bñdictiōib⁹ *Aperi d'ne cor meu' ad b'n'dice'du' nome' s'c'm tuu': mu'daq3 cor meu' ab o'ib⁹ vanis & iniq's cogitatio'ib⁹: vt exaudiri merear dep'ca's te p'p'lo tuo que' elegisti tibi saluator mu'di: Qui cum deo p're i' vni·* &c. R. *Ame'*. Postea eps mitratus se vertat ad ppł3 añ mediū altaris. Tūc capellan⁹ minister a dextris ei⁹ & diacon⁹ tenēs baculū pastoralē ī sinistra manu a sinistris inclinātes se pfūde c̄uersis dorsis ad altare subdiacono corā epo librū bñdictionū aptū tenēte. Pōtifex ꝑo māib⁹ ī altū extēsis īpōit cubitos suos sup scapulas dictoꝝ mīstri & diacōi: ichoās mediocri voce bñdictionē solēnitate c̄gruētē psequēs illā ī tono solito vsq3 ī finē. Cū aut̄ puenerit ad illū locū *B'n'dictio dei*, &c. Tūc ꝑbdiacon⁹ gēuflectit ne ppłi pspectū īpediat. Et pōtifex dicēdo. Et bñdictio *Dei p'ris o'ipote'tis* pducit signū crucis sup ppł3 ī meridionali pte ecclie manēte: dicēdo ꝑo & *filii* pducat illū cora3 se sup ppł3 ī pte occidētali c̄stitutū: & *sp'us* + *s'c'i* pducit apte aq̄lonari. Quo facto et dicto man⁹ et cubitos reducit vt ꝑus. Dictis āt· v̄bis illis. *Desce'dat sup' vos et maneat se'p·* mox iūgit añ faciē suā man⁹. Sicq̄ manib⁹ iūct̄ reuoluit̄ a pte dxtra ad altare. Et statī mitra dposita diacon⁹ vel ipe āmouēs palā corpalē desup calicē & īclinās corpi dñi reuerēter reponit patenā cū ꝑticulis hostie sup altare in ꝑstio loco: Resūptaq̄ illa hostie ꝑticula quā pri⁹ sup os calicis tēuerat & ea sup os calicis itez reducta dic̄ ī ꝑstio tono. *Et pax ei⁹* &c. q̄ dicēdo facit solito more īfūdo calicis tres cruces cū ꝑticula ipsa dicēs. *Fiat c'mixtio* &c. dimittit illā ī calice et missas solito more pseq̄t. Has aut̄ bñdictioēs ecclia romana nō h3 ī vsu: s3 ī fine misse dñt. *Sit nome' d'ni b'n'dictu'* &c. Qñ vero hec solēnis bñdictio dat̄ tūc nō est neče ī fine misse iterū solēnit̄ bñdicere.

Many forms of Benediction follow in the Pontifical quoted, with a vignette at the head representing the ceremonial.

Although the Pontifical of Leo X. contains these forms, it is there noticed, that they were not in use in the Roman Church, whence they are ex-

punged from modern Pontificals:[g] it has even been a question with the learned, whether special benedictions of the people ever constituted part of the Roman Liturgy. In some ancient Gregorian Sacramentaries the forms are found incorporated with the Mass; in others, they are annexed to, or at the foot of the liturgy, but these sacramentaries, together with the Benedictionals, or separate books of Episcopal benedictions of the people, such as the Manuscript I have the honour, with the permission of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, to lay before your Lordship and this Society, are thought to have been written for particular churches in which the use of them prevailed: Mabillon and Muratori are of this opinion.

These are the words of Mabillon on the subject, in his Commentary[h] *in Ordinem Romanum:*

In Gallicanis & Hispanicis ecclesiis antequam diceretur, *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum,* benedictionem populo circumstanti ab episcopo sacra celebrante impendi antiquus mos est, ut patet tum ex antiquissimis libris Ordinis Gallicani, tum ex Concilii IV. Toletani canone XVIII. Hæc benedictio triplici oratione populo impertiebatur: quales orationes non semel typis excusæ sunt. Verum has benedictiones non invenio receptas in Missa pontificali: immo eas graviter improbare videtur Zacharias papa. De his enim interpretor hæc ejus verba epistolæ ad Bonifacium. *Pro Benedictionibus autem quas faciunt Galli, ut nosti frater, multis vitiis variantur. Nam non ex apostolica traditione hoc faciunt, sed per vanam gloriam, adhibentes sibi damnationem.... Regulam itaque catholicæ traditionis, quam a sancta Romana ecclesia, cui Deo auctore deservio, accepisti, omnibus prædica.*[i] Si de his benedictionibus (ut quidem opinor)

[g] They are not contained in the Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. Romæ 1595.

[h] Mabillon, in ordinem Romanum Commentarius, Cap. vii. pag. lii. Mus. Ital. tom. ii. Complectens antiquos libros rituales sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ.

[i] In the several editions of the Epistolæ S. Bonefacii, published by Serarius and Wurdtwein, the passage is as follows: "Pro benedictionibus autem, quas faciunt Galli, ut nosti frater, multis vitiis variantur. Nam non ex apostolica traditione hoc faciunt, sed per vanam gloriam operantur, sibi ipsis damnationem adhibentes, dum scriptum est: *Si quis vobis evangelizaverit præter id, quod evangelizatum est, anathema sit.* Regulam Catholicæ traditionis sicut suscepisti, Frater amantissime, sic omnibus prædica, omnesque, sicut a Sancta Romana, cui, Deo auctore, deservimus, ecclesia accepisti." On which Serarius, in his notes, observes, "An illas intelligit, quæ mulierculis etiam nonnullis et iis, qui apud Hispanos interdum *Salvatores vocantur usitatæ? Nam istius modi apud nos Segen* dicuntur. Deque ipsis multa Franciscus de Victoria Relect. de Magia ad 2. et nuper Martinus Noster Delrio, lib. 3. Disquisivit Mag. p. 11. q. 4. s. 7. Vide hunc eundem, l. 6. c. 11. s. 1. q. 2.

agit Zacharias, duriora sunt ejus verba, quam causa, quæ alias laudabilis censeri potest, mereatur. De ejusmodi benedictionibus quædam verba intrusa sunt in secundum Ordinem Romanum: *Post solutas, ut in his partibus mos est, pontificales benedictiones, cum dixerit,* Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, *mittit in calicem de sancta oblata.* Sed hæc verba, *ut in his partibus mos est,* dicta esse consideratione loci, ubi descriptus est iste Ordo Romanus, satis intelligitur. Non ergo inserendum erat *Benedictionale* novæ Gregorii operum editioni, quod a ritu Romanorum, atque adeo ipsius Gregorii mente alienum est. Tametsi in codice bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Sacramentario Gregoriano subjectum reperiatur, utpote descriptum ad alterius ecclesiæ usum, quam Romanæ.

Muratori in the Dissertation to his Liturgia Romana Vetus, adopts these opinions:

Rejectas quoque intueberis ad calcem Liturgiæ Gregorianæ *Benedictiones Episcopales,* quas tamen apud Menardum perperam insertas habemus in textu Gregoriano. Iis in Pontificali missa Episcopi olim benedicebant Populo ante illa verba *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*; fateri enim cogimur, ejusmodi consuetudinem antiquissimam fuisse. Aderat propterea peculiaris liber, quem *Benedictionalem* appellabant. Ne has quidem benedictiones fœtum esse Gregorii magni, statuendum est, quum in vetustis ordinibus Romanis a Mabillonio editis, nullum de iis verbum sit et nullæ in Mutinensis Sacramentarii Gregoriani Codice, nono aut decimo sæculo scripti, reperiantur. In calce quidem Vaticani et Othoboniani exstant, sed plures in uno quàm in altero, atque interdum diversæ a Menardi Codice. Si easdem Complexum fuisset Romani Cubiculi Sacramentarium, unde exempla olim fuere desumta, nulla inter Codices Antiquos esset diversitas. Propterea Mabillonius merito censuit, easdem benedictiones non fuisse inferendas in Sacramentarium Gregorianum; immo opinatus est easdem a Zacharia Pontifice improbatas fuisse in officio Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ. Et numquam iis usos fuisse Romanos Pontifices conjicere etiam possumus a sacramentariis Gelasiano et Leoniano in quibus nullum est earum vestigium.]

It is manifest from the authorities cited at the opening of this dissertation, that the custom subsisted prior to the time of Gregory the Great; and it is difficult to conceive how the animadversions of Pope Zachary can attach to a custom which seems to have been approved of by the fathers St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Austin, and to have been enjoined by the Councils of Milevis and Toledo, and adopted by all the

] Folio 79.

Western churches. Pope Damasus, who succeeded Liberius in 366, and to whom St. Jerome was secretary, in his letter[k] addressed to Prosper, Bishop of Numidia, and other African Bishops, condemns the Choripiscopi for exercising functions which belonged only to Bishops, specially including the Benediction of the people. Certainly, when the Maurists published in 1705 their new edition of St. Gregory's works, they did not, in conformity with Mabillon's opinion, reject the ***Benedictiones ad populum***; for, instead of republishing the sacramentary contained in the former edition of St. Gregory's works, printed at Rome in 1605, which was without these forms, they made use of other MS. Sacramentaries that contained them.

The Greek form.

II. The Greeks attribute their liturgy to SS. Basil and Chrysostom, and though it has undergone some alterations at different times it preserves more of the original[l] form of the Mass than the Roman liturgy does; retaining in particular the primitive distinction of the ***Missa Catechumenorum*** and the ***Missa Fidelium***. The liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom, and that of St. Cyril, commonly called St. James', are those chiefly used in the East. It merits attention, that in the Greek Mass there are not less than three benedictions of the people; one immediately before the Communion, another of some length, after the ***Gratiarum actio***, and the last, after the distribution of blessed bread, an ancient practice in the Oriental as well as Gallican churches. In respect to the first of these benedictions, which is the chief,[m] the form in the Mass of St. Chrysostom is as follows:

After the Priest and Deacon have communicated, *Tunc accipiens Diaconus sanctum Discum super sanctum Calicem, sancta spongia diligenter abstergit, & cum attentione & devotione velo sanctum Calicem tegit, & alia pariter vela, & stellam sancto Disco imponit. Et sancti Tribunalis portam aperiunt. Et Diaconus adorans semel sumit sanctum calicem cum veneratione & procedit ad ostium, & attollens sanctum Calicem, ostendit ipsum populo,*

k S. Damasi Opera. epist. ix. p. 107. Parisiis, 1672.

l See Justin in Apologia 2, ad Antoninum Pium. See also Constit. Apostol. lib. 2. cap. 61, et lib. viii.

m "L'Eveque donne a la Messe plusiers benedictions au peuple, mais il donne la plus solemnelle immediatement avant la Communion." See the answers of the Syriac priest to De Moleon's Questions sur la liturgie de l'eglise d'orient.

dicens, Cum timore Dei & fide accedite. *Chorus,* Amen. Amen. Amen. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. *Et Sacerdos benedicit populum alta voce, dicens.* Salva Deus populum tuum, et benedic hereditati tuæ.[n] *Et Chorus.* In multos annos, Domine.[o]

This, I conceive, shews the source of the special benedictions of the people before Communion in the Mass, whether the forms in the sacramentaries were ever part of the Roman liturgy, as I think they were, or whether they were introduced into Gaul or into Spain by Oriental Bishops.

The Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish or Mozarabic forms; together with notices of the printed Liturgies of those Churches, and of the Roman Church.

III. In the West, there were four principal liturgies, the Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish or Mozarabic.

The Ambrosian Mass, still used in the Metropolitan church at Milan, is ascribed[p] to St. Ambrose, and approaches nearer to the Roman, than did either the ancient Gallican or Mozarabic, which bore an affinity to each other, and partook more of the Eastern manner. In this Mass there are special forms of benediction for the day; but the benediction is not given until after the Post Communion and ***Procedamus in Pace.***

Hac finita, faciat crucem super altare, & osculetur eam. Postea det populo benedictionem, quæ conveniat missæ quam dixit. Sequens benedictio generaliter dicitur ad omnes missas Dominicales & feriales nisi alia assignetur. Benedicat vos divina majestas, Pater +, & Filius +, & Spiritus sanctus + *R.* Amen. *Si celebratur de sanctis, in benedictione fit commemoratio illius vel illorum sanctorum, de quibus agitur hoc & simili modo.* Precibus & meritis B. pontificis & confessoris Ambrosij, Deus vos benedicat + & perducat ad gaudia paradisi. *Et sic de aliis.*[q]

In respect to the Gallican church, some of its first Bishops, as SS. Pothinus[r] and Irenæus of Lyons, S. Crescentius of Vienne, and S. Trophimus[s]

[n] *Benedic hereditatem tuam in pace* is the language used in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional on the first Sunday of Advent.

[o] Euchologion sive Rituale Græcorum. Jacobi Goar. Lutet. Paris, 1647, pp. 83, 84.

[p] Walfridus Strabo lib. de Reb. ecclesiasticis, Cap. 21. The Ambrosian liturgy occurs in Martene de Antiq. eccl. ritibus, Antwerp, 1736, tom. i. 480, and in Pamele, Liturg. Lat. 293. The Canon of this Mass is given by Muratori in his Liturgia Romana vetus, tom. i. p. 131, and the order of this liturgy may also be seen in Bona Rer. liturg. lib. cap. x. 362.

[q] Martene, tom. i. p. 488.

[r] Gallia Christiana, tom. iv. p. 4.

[s] Martyrolog. Gall. pars postrem. p. 1049.

of Arles, came from the East; and though the liturgy of St Hilary, of which St. Jerome makes mention, seems to have been chiefly followed in Gaul, there was a diversity of liturgies there until Pepin and Charlemagne abrogated them, and introduced in their place the Roman liturgy.[t] In 1680, the Missale Gothicum, Missale Francorum, and Missale Gallicanum vetus, were published by Cardinal Tomasi, the first two from MSS. in the library of Christina, Queen of Sweden, the last from the Vatican collection. Mabillon in 1685 wrote his treatise de Liturgia Gallicana, in which were introduced the three liturgies last mentioned, and in 1687 he printed[v] from a MS. in the Monastery of Bobio (which was famous for its liturgic collections), the Sacramentarium Gallicanum. All these were added by Muratori to his Liturgia Romana Vetus. In the Missale Gothicum, and Missale Gallicanum Vetus, the *Benedictio populi* comes in order before the post-communion, and consists of four parts, with a conclusion. The forms differ nearly throughout from the Roman Pontifical. The Missale Francorum, so called from the prayers which occur for the Princes of the Franks, is a fragment, and does not contain any of these benedictions, nor are they found in the Sacramentarium Gallicanum.[u]

The custom of episcopal benediction on the fraction of the host was observed in the churches of Paris, Arles, Lyons, Rouen, Clermont, Angers, Tours, Sens, Blois, Mans, and Chartres.[x]

In Spain, where, as well as in Narbonnese Gaul, the Gothic liturgy originally prevailed, St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, and others, composed the liturgy called Mozarabic, from being used by the natives mixed with Arabs. Under Pope Gregory VII. this began to give place to the Roman, and has ceased, excepting in Toledo, in which city it was revived by Cardinal

[t] Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, libri iii. Chardon Histoire des Sacremens, tom. i. Martene, tom. i. Cap. iii. 270. Bona, lib. i. Cap. 12. Muratori Liturgia Romana vetus.

[v] Tom. i. Musei Italici.

[u] Earl Spencer has a copy of the Missa secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum, printed at Messana in 1480. It is without Episcopal benedictions, or any notice of them in the rubric.

[x] De Moleon Voyages Liturgiques de France, Paris, 1757. Martene, tom. i. p. 414, edit. 1700.

Ximenes; from whose Mass[y] we extract the following rubric, which occurs after the prayer *Liberati a malo,* and the words *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*

Sic faciat Presbyter: accipiat modo particulam quæ dicitur regnum *de patena, & ponat super calicem.——Et postea dicat hanc orationem inter se submissa voce;* Sancta Sanctis, & conjunctio Corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sumentibus & potantibus nobis ad veniam, & defunctis fidelibus præstetur ad requiem. *Et mittat particulam in calicem, et cooperiat calicem, & dicat alta voce sic, si non fuerit ibi diaconus:* Humiliate vos Benedictioni. Dominus sit semper vobiscum. *R.* Et cum Spiritu tuo.

Here follows the benediction for Advent, differing from the form in the Roman Pontifical.

This rite is in conformity with the 18th canon of the IV. Council of Toledo, held in 633.—*Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam orationem Dominicam statim communicant et postea benedictionem in populo dant, quod deinceps interdicimus: sed post orationem Dominicam, et conjunctionem panis et calicis, benedictio in populum sequatur, et tunc demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur, eo videlicet ordine, ut sacerdos et levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.* Thus, the Mozarabic blessing was allowed to be given by the Priest, differing from the Roman rite, which was exclusively episcopal, and done after the *Commixtio,* and not before, approaching nearer to the Oriental manner.

The whole ancient Roman liturgy is comprised in the three books called the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries.

The Leonine Sacramentary was first published by Bianchini, under the title, *Codex Sacramentorum vetus Romanæ ecclesiæ, a Sancto Leone Papa confectus, primum prodit in MSto libro, ante mille annos conscripto, qui constat in Bibliotheca amplissimi capituli Veronensis.* It was republished by Muratori, in his Liturgia Romana vetus, already cited. The Veronese MS. is written in Roman uncial letters of high antiquity, a specimen of which is given in both editions.

By Bianchini this Sacramentary is ascribed to Leo the Great, whose pontificate commenced in 449: Ursius, the Dominican, strongly urges, that it

y Martene, tom. i. 475, ex antiquo Missali Mozarabum jussu Francisci Ximenes Archiepiscopi Toletani edito.

was compiled by Gelasius: Eusebius Amort is of opinion that it is the early received Sacramentary of the Roman Church, with the additions and interpolations of several Popes, shewing marks in particular of the hands of Sixtus III., Leo the Great, and Felix III. his successor. Muratori infers that it was put together after Leo, and before Gelasius, in the time of Felix III., but that it may be allowed to retain the name of St. Leo, because it contains many things [z] done by him, and is distinguishable both from the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries. Though this MS. is ill digested, and is only a fragment, it justly deserves the encomium bestowed upon it by the learned commentator lastly referred to, ***Egregium sane ac pretiosum venerandæ antiquitatis monumentum, cui par in hoc genere non reperias, utpote quod in eo exhibeatur omnium vetustissima liturgia, quæ Romæ olim in usu fuit.***[a]

Gelasius I., who governed the Church from the year 492 to 496, revised the Roman liturgy,[b] and the Sacramentary bearing his name was first edited from a MS. copy in the library of the Queen of Sweden, by Cardinal Tomasi, in his liturgic work before-mentioned, and was reprinted by Muratori,[c] who maintained that the MS., though written [d] long after the pontificate of Gelasius, as is evident from the later additions to the text, is not subsequent to the time of Charlemagne. Basnage [e] on the contrary, refers it to the tenth century. This liturgy is divided into three heads, the first, containing Masses *de anni circulo*; the second, *de Sanctorum natalitiis*; and the third, *de dominicis diebus variisque causis.* In the last book occurs the *Canon Actionis* which is wanting in the Leonine fragment.

z Anastasius notices an addition made by Leo the Great to the Canon of the Mass, and, in the Gemma Animi, other alterations of the Mass by this Pope are spoken of.

a Liturg. Rom. Vet. p. 15.

b According to Anastatius this pontiff wrote prefaces and collects for the Mass, and also composed Hymns after the manner of St. Ambrose.

c Liturgia Romana vetus.

d That it was written among the Franks, or in Britain, is clear from certain festivals in the Missal which belong to the Gallican and not to the Roman Church; and also from the invocation in the Mass of peculiar patron Saints of those countries. In the Canon are the words added by Gregory the Great.

e Hist. Eccl. tom. II. lib. xvi. cap. 10.

Neither of the liturgies bearing the names of SS. Leo and Gelasius contain episcopal benedictions of the people; but it must be observed, that other parts of the Mass, beside special benedictions, are also wanting in them, as the Epistles, the Gospels, and the Antiphons of the day: and although we have these altogether in order in the present Missals, they will not be found, as Muratori remarks,[f] united in one book until after the tenth century.

The Apostolic Chair was filled by Gregory the Great in 590, and that he improved the Roman liturgy, and reduced it into the order now used by the Church, is certain. Traces of his labours are perceptible in some of his Epistles. Joannes Diaconus, in his life[g] of the Saint, addressed to John Bishop of Rome (according to Bollandus, John VIIIth, elected Pope in 872) tells us that Gregory reduced the Sacramentary of Gelasius into one volume:

Sed et Gelasianum codicem, de Missarum solenniis multa substrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla adjiciens pro exponendis evangelicis lectionibus, in unius libri volumine coarctavit. In Canone apposuit, *Diesque nostros in tuâ pace disponas, atque ab æternâ damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.*

Our historian Bede,[h] and Anastasius,[i] confirm the precise addition made by St. Gregory to the Canon of the Mass. In 831, the monastery of St. Richarius at Centula, now S. Riquier, was possessed of separate copies of the Gelasian and Gregorian Missals, as appears from the catalogue of their library.[j]

Pope Hadrian I. sending a copy of St. Gregory's Sacramentary to Charlemagne, writes to the Emperor as follows: *De Sacramentario à sancto Prædecessore Nostro, Deifluo Gregorio Papâ, disposito, jampridem Paulus*

[f] Liturgia Romana Vetus, p. 82.

[g] Acta Sanctorum, mensis Martii, tom. ii. p. 150. Vita S. Greg. auctore Johanne Diacono.

[h] "Sed et in ipsa missarum celebratione tria verba maximæ perfectionis plena superadjecit, *Dies que nostros in,*" &c. Beda, lib. ii. cap. i.

[i] Anast. de Vitis Pontif. apud Muratori, Script. Ital. 3, p. 134.

[j] *De Libris* Sacrarii qui ministerio altaris deserviunt: Missales Gregoriani tres; Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus I. Lectionarii Epistolarum & Evangeliorum mixtim & ordinatè compositi V. Missales Gelasiani XIX. Textus Evangelii IV. aureis litteris scriptus totus I. Lectionarius plenarius à supradicto Albino ordinatus I. Antephonarii sex: qui sunt libri num. XXXV. *Chronicon Hariulfi Monachi S. Richarij* Centulensis, lib. iii. cap. iii. D'Achery Spiceleg. tom. ii. 310.

Grammaticus à nobis eum pro Vobis petiit, & secundùm Sanctæ Nostræ Ecclesiæ traditionem per Joannem Monachum atque Abbatem Civitatis Revennatium Vestræ Regali misimus Excellentiæ, &c. In the Imperial library at Vienna is preserved a MS. Liber Sacramentorum, beginning,

IN NOMINE DNI.
INCIPIT LIBER. SA
CRAMENTORVM. DE
CIRCVLO. ANNI. EXPO
SITVS. A SCO. GREGO
RIO. PAPA. ROMANO.
EDITVS. EX AVTHENTI
CO. LIBRO. BIBLIOTHECAE.
CVBICVLI. SCRIPTVS.

Lambecius,[k] in his Commentary on the Imperial library, treats this book as the copy presented to Charlemagne, by Hadrian ; this Muratori disputes, at the same time he admits that the MS. may have been written at the end of the eighth century. In this MS. at the foot of the liturgy is a Benedictional which Lambecius gave the public as a part of the Gregorian Sacramentary not before published.

Pamele, in 1571, published his *Liturgica Latinorum*, in which are contained *Sacramentorum libri tres : quorum primus est Divi Gregorii, secundus Grimoldi Abbatis, tertius Alcuini*, copied from very early MSS. in the Metropolitan library at Cologne. A Benedictional occurs at the foot of the second of these liturgies.

In the works of Gregory the Great, edited under Clement VIII. in 1605, by Angelo Rocca, sacrist of the Apostolic palace, another copy appeared of the Gregorian Sacramentary, from a MS. in the Vatican collection, which does not contain the Episcopal benedictions, as has been before observed.

In 1642, Dom. Menard edited, with very valuable notes, the *Divi Gregorij Papæ Liber Sacramentorum ex Missali MS. Sancti Eligii Bibliothecæ Corbeiensis*, where the benedictions are found incorporated with the Mass; and, as an appendix, were added *Missa vetus ex codice Ratoldi Abbatis Cor-*

[k] Petri Lambecii Comment. de Biblioth. Caes. lib. ii. cap. V. p. 299.

beiensis and *Alia Missa vetus ex codice Tiliano,* in each of which the rubric refers to the benediction given on the fraction of the host. These Sacramentaries edited by Menard, the Maurists, as we have before remarked, reprinted in the works of St. Gregory, inserting also the Benedictional published by Lambecius from the Imperial MS. and *aliud Benedictionum Episcopalium supplementum, ex codice pervetusto S. Theodorici prope Remos.*

Lastly comes Muratori's Gregorian Sacramentary in the *Liturgia Romana Vetus* before-mentioned, the text of which, taken from the *Codex Alexandrino Vaticanus,* he collated with the *Codex Othobonianus.* Specimens of the writing of both these MSS. are given by the learned editor, who assigns them to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. Appended to the Sacramentary in that volume is the Benedictional found at the end of the *Codex Othobonianus,* which was more copious than the Benedictional in the other MS.

The first printed edition of the Roman Missal appeared at Rome in 1475, during the pontificate of Sixtus IV., from the press of Udalricus Gallus or Han Alamanus, and of which Earl Spencer has a magnificent copy on vellum: it does not contain any rubric relating to the Episcopal benedictions of the people; but they appear in the Pontifical of Leo Xth, as we have seen.

The British, Irish, and English liturgies; and the form of Benediction in the English Church.

IV. S. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, and S. Germanus, of Auxerre, introduced the Gallican liturgy—*ordinem cursus Gallorum,* into Britain.[1] How-

[1] Johannes Evangelista, primum cursum Gallorum decantavit:——Beatus Hieronimus adfirmat, ipsum cursum qui dicitur *præsente tempore Scottorum,* beatus Marcus decantavit, & post ipsum Gregorius Nanzanzenus, quem Hyeronimus suum magistrum esse adfirmat: & beatus Basilius frater ipsius S'c'i Gregorii, Antonius, Paulus, Macharius, vel Johannes, et Malchus secundum ordinem patrum decantaverunt: Inde postea beatissimus Cassianus, qui Linerense monasterio beatum Honoratum habuit comparem. Et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus Abba & s'c's Cæsarius ep's qui fuit in Arelata, et beatus Porcarius Abba qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt, qui beatum Lupum et beatum Germanum monachus in eorum monasterio habuerunt: & ipsi sub normam reguli ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt, & postea in Episcopatus cathedra summi honoris p' reverentia s'c'itatis eorum sunt adepti & postea in Brittaniis vel Scottiis prædicaverunt, quæ vita beati Germani ep'i Antisiodorensis, et vita beati Lupi adfirmat, qui beatum Patricium spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt atque enutrierunt, & ipsum ep'm p' eorum prædicatione Archiep'm in Scottiis ac Brittaniis posuerunt, qui vixit

ever, to use the words of Mabillon,[m] ***Qualis fuerit apud Britones & Hibernos sacrificandi ritus, non plane compertum est : modum tamen illum a Romanis diversum exstitisse intelligitur ex Bernardo in libro de Vita Malachiæ Capitibus*** iii & viii ; ***ubi Malachias barbaras consuetudines Romanis mutasse, & canonicum divinæ laudis officium in illas ecclesias invexisse memoratur.***

Of the Irish ritual there are only a few fragments, according to O'Connor,[n] remaining; among which is a single Missal, the ***Codex Bobiense S. Columbani***, being merely a portative Missal for the use of travelling priests.[o] Excepting in the canon of the Mass, where there is a general concordance[p] in the liturgies of all the Western Churches, the ***Missale S. Columbani*** differs from the Roman liturgy, and does not agree in all things with the Gallican, nor does it conform to the Mozarabic, nor to the African liturgy.

That the liturgy after the Roman manner was established among the southern Saxons by St. Augustine and the Italian Missionaries sent by Gregory the Great, and that the Northumbrian Saxons, who had received the Scotish or Irish ritual from their first teachers, Aedan, Finan, and Coleman, afterward spontaneously relinquished that ritual for the Roman, is, I think, clear from Bede.[q] If any churches followed the customs of the Gallican or other Western churches, certainly they were not restricted from doing so by the Roman Pontiff. "***Cum una sit fides,***" says Augustine, in his letter to Gregory, "***sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, & altera consuetudo Missarum in Sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?*** Re-

annos centum quinquaginta tres ; & ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit. *MS. Cotton. Nero A. II. fol.* 36, 37 *v. et* 38, *Sæc.* ix. See also Spelman's Concil. tom. i. p. 176. Usser. Primord. Dub. 1639, p. 342; and Mabillon, Liturg. Gall. p. 380.

m Mabillon, ibid. p. 15.

n Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis 2, p. 2.

o See a description of this Missal in Mabillon, Musei Ital. tom. i. ; Ruinart de re Deplomat. 366; and O'Connor Rerum Hibern. Script. tom. i. cxxx.

p The general conformity of the ancient Canons of the Mass, of the Roman, Gothic, and other Western Churches, with the present Roman Canon, is shown by Georgi de Liturg. Rom. Pont. tom. iii. p. xli.

q Bed. lib. i. cap. xxvi, xxvii, xxix. ; lib. iv. cap. xviii.

spondit Gregorius papa: *Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet Ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus Omnipotenti Deo possit placere, solicite eligas, & in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis Ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque Ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.*[r]

The metropolitan church of York, St. Mary's church in the same city, Croyland, Lincoln, Hereford, Sarum, and London, among the churches in England, had peculiar liturgies; Bangor and Aberdeen had also theirs.

The Sarum ordinal, or consuetudinary, drawn up by Osmond, Bishop of that diocese in 1078, and chiefly grounded on the Roman, was, according to Higden,[s] used by almost all England, Ireland, and Wales: and this also appears from the Constitutions of Archbishop Chicheley in 1416, art. 2. It was in consequence of the adoption of the *Consuetudines Sarum* by the whole province of Canterbury, that the Bishop of Salisbury became, *de jure*, Precentor to the College of Bishops whenever the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated. The Sarum rite obtained in England till the time of Cardinal Pole, when the Roman was exclusively adopted.

The Sarum Missal[t] was first printed at Venice in 1494, or, according to Denis, by George Stöcks, at Nuremberg, in 1492, and was reprinted at Rouen in 1497. There is a copy[u] of the impression of 1494 in the Gough

[r] Ibid. lib. i. cap. xxvii.

[s] Polychron. VII. c. 3, Caxton edit. fol. 328.

[t] Dr. O'Connor, in his Bibliotheca Stowensis, says that the Sarum Missal was first printed in 1488; but he seems to have mistaken the Missal for *Breviarum secundum usum Sarum. Venetiis, Raynaldus de Novomagio* 1488, in two volumes, 8vo. of which there was a vellum copy in the Macarthy library; though it is possible that this Breviary, like some of the early ones, may contain the ordinary of the Mass. The impression of the Missal of 1492, spoken of by Denis on the authority of a private friend, is not known in this country.

[u] The copy of 1494 is intitled, *Missale secundum usum ecclesie Sarū Anglicane.* Collophon. *In laudē sanctissime Trinitatis totiusq' milicie celestis ad honorē & decorē sancte eccl'ie Sarū Anglicane: eiusq' devotissimi cleri: hoc missale divinorum officiorū Vigilanti studio emendatū &*

collection in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and his Majesty King William IV. has a fine copy on vellum, of the edition of 1497.[x] Neither contains any rubric relating to Episcopal benedictions, but the conclusion must not thence be drawn that these did not form part of the Sarum liturgy.

The English custom of episcopal benediction on the fraction of the host in the Mass, is set forth in the Sarum Manuale printed at Rouen in 1501, by Peter Olivier and John de Lorraine, and in those of 1543 and 1554, from the respective presses, at Rouen, of Nicholas Rufus and Robert Valentin, copies of which several editions are in the library of Mr. Douce, to whom I am indebted for the use of them; the form also occurs in the Sarum Manuale printed at Rouen by Peter Olivier alone, of which there is an imperfect copy in the British Museum, and which, I think, was the first printed edition of the Sarum Manuale.[y]

revisum. Impressum Venetiis per Joannē Hertzog de Landoia: felici numine explicitū est. Anno D'ni M.CCCC.XCIIII. Kal's mensis Decembris. The bookseller's device, and, *Fredericus Egmont me fieri fecit.*

[x] *Missale secundū usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburien'.* The arms of France and England over the story of St. George and the Dragon. Colophon, *Anno incarnationis Dominice Quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo supra milesimum die vero quarta mensis Decembris: opera et industria magistri Martini Morin impressoris Rothomagi juxta insignem prioratum Sancti Laudi commoran'. Impensa vero Johannis Richardi Mercatoris: hoc egregium opus sacri Missalis ad usum famose ac percelebris ecclesie Sar. nuper instanti ac per vigili cura visum, corectum et emēdatū est palam et in papiro et pargameno venale facili precio corā cunctis productum et exhibitum.*

[y] The copy in the British Museum is bound up with Wynkyn de Worde's Expositio Hymnor' totius anni; et expositio Sequētiarū totius anni; and the Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Sar. Londini, 1553. It is intitled, *Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sar. Rothomagi nuper impressū. In officina Magistri Petri Oliuier juxta ecclesiam Sancti Viviani moram agētis.* The arms of France and England over the story of St. George and the Dragon; below, *On les vent a Rouen en la maison Philippe Coste, parcheminier, demourant au pont de Robec.* The last leaf is wanting. The edition of 1501 has this title: *Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sar. Rothomagi nuper impressum impensis Johannis Richardi Mercatoris librarii in eadem urbe juxta ecclesiam divi Nicholai moram trahentis.* The arms of France and England over the story of St. George and the Dragon. Colophon: *Finis tabule Manualis et ex cōsequenti totī op'is Rothomagi nuper impressi in vico Damiete iuxta divi Maclouii opera et arte Petri Olivier et Johannis de Lorraine socior'. Anno D'ni MCCCCC primo in Pascha. Sum'e Tri-*

This, is the rubric contained in the Manual last referred to, following the fraction of the host, the priest holding the particles in his hands over the chalice, and after the words, ***Per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen :***

Deinde si Ep's celebr' Dyaconus ad populū conversus baculum Ep'i in dextera tenens curvatura baculi ad se conversa dicat hoc modo Humiliate vos ad Benedictionem, *Chorus respōd'* Deo Gratias, *postea Eukaristia super patenam reposita Ep's sup' populum faciat benedictionem, post benedictionem sequatur* Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.

Although it may be a question whether this rite was introduced into England by the Missionaries of Gregory the Great, or by the Gallican Bishops, I have no doubt that it was a general national custom proceeding from one or the other.

In the public library at Rouen are two beautiful Anglo-Saxon MSS. one bearing the title ***Benedictionarius Roberti, Archiepiscopi***, the other, called ***Missale Roberti, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*** Both have been presumed to belong to Robert, Abbot of Jumieges, promoted by Edward the Confessor, first to the see of London, and afterward to Canterbury. The Benedictionarius was written, in my opinion, for Æthelgar, translated from Selsey to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 988, and while it contains various forms of benediction, mainly agreeing with those in our MS., the time of giving them, which was at the fraction of the host, is manifest from the ***Missa de edificante ecclesia,*** and the ***Missa pro reconciliatione ecclesiæ.*** A

nitati laus honor et gloria. The bookseller's device of J. R. in a shield supported by a Virgin and a Unicorn.

By the Constitutions of Archbishop Winchelsea, each parish was required to provide a *Legend, Antiphonar, Gradual, Psalter, Troperium, Ordinal, Missal,* and *Manual.* The *Legend* contains the lessons to be read in the Matin Office, taken from the Old or New Testament, or the Homilies, Sermons, and Saints' lives. The *Antiphonar,* a book for the service of the Choir, has the responses or antiphons, hymns, verses, and other things belonging to the singing of the Canonical Hours. The *Gradual,* which takes its name from the prayer chaunted *gradatim* after the Epistle, is the choir-book used in singing mass. The *Psalter* contains David's Psalms. The *Troperium* is the book of the *sequentiæ,* necessary when they are not contained in the gradual. The *Ordinal* is the directory containing the order of singing and solemnizing the divine office. The *Missal* contains every thing belonging to the mass, or liturgy for each day in the year. The *Manual* is defined by Linwood as the ritual containing all things belonging to the sacraments, sacramentals, and benedictions. In England, every illuminated MS. prayer-book of what nature soever it may be, goes most absurdly under the denomination of a Missal.

description of this volume I propose to subjoin, as it materially helps to illustrate either the liturgy, or the calligraphic art of the Duke of Devonshire's MS. The Missal was written before the year 1050, and contains Masses in honour of St. Æthelwold, which I have extracted, and added by way of Appendix. On some future occasion I hope to give your Lordship, and the Society, some description of that very interesting Manuscript, which has many splendid illuminations.

In the Bodleian library at Oxford is a MS. copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary, which belonged to Leofric, Bishop of Exeter in 1050, and was perhaps written before his time. It has the Episcopal benedictions incorporated in the Mass in the same manner as they are found in the Codex S. Eligii.

The Duke of Devonshire's MS., the splendid pages of which lay open before us, was the ancient Benedictional of the see of Winchester, as we learn from the metrical dedication prefixed, in letters of gold, of which the substance is as follows:

"A prelate whom the Lord had caused to be head of the church of Winchester, the Great Æthelwold, truly understanding how to preserve the fleecy lambs of Christ from the malignant art of the devil; this steward, illustrious, venerable, and mild, desirous likewise to render full fruit to God when the Judge shall come who weighs the actions of the whole world, what each has done, and shall render such reward as they deserve—to the just eternal life, and to the wicked punishment—commanded a certain monk subject to him to write the present book: he ordered also to be made in it many arches elegantly decorated and filled up with various ornamented pictures expressed in divers beautiful colours, and gold; the aforesaid Boanarges caused this book to be written for him, to the intent, that he might from it sanctify the people of our Saviour, and pour forth to God holy prayers for the flock committed to his charge, that he might not lose a little lamb of his fold, but be able joyfully to say, ***Behold, I present you the children whom thou gavest me to preserve; of them, by Thy propitious aid, the daring voracious wolf has stolen none away, but we stand here together, and desire to receive eternal life to be enjoyed in heaven with the High Prince whose members we are, who by right is the head and salvation of those baptized in the high sounding***

name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that, if they go not astray, but maintain their faith, and in their works fulfil the commandments of salvation, and banish all heresy from their heart, always striving to overcome sin, they may be joined to the Lord in heaven for ever. May Christ, the merciful Saviour and good King of the world, grant this to all sprinkled with holy baptism; and to the Great Father, who ordered the book to be written, may He give an eternal kingdom on high; and let all who behold this book always pray, this, that after the term of the flesh, I may be worthy to rest in heaven, this is the fervent prayer of the writer Godemann."

S. Æthelwold.

V. The name of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, is enrolled in the calendar of English Saints;[z] and we have his life[a] written, as it seems, by Wulstan a disciple. Æthelwold received the monastic habit from St. Dunstan, at Glastonbury, and by his recommendation was charged, first, with the government of the royal monastery, then newly erected at Abingdon, of which he was Abbot in 948,[b] and was afterward promoted to the see of Winchester. He was consecrated Bishop on the vigil of St. Andrew in 963,[c] and died on the Kalends of August in 984.[d] "*Nescires,*" says Malmesbury,[e] "*quid in eo magis*

[z] Ethelwoldi memoriam in rebus sacris jam inde ab ejus obitu celebravit Anglicana Ecclesia, ut præ aliis testatum facit Missa hic edita, qualis in MS. Codice Uticensi pervetusto habetur. *Observ. Prævia Vitæ S. Æthelwoldi Episcopi Wintoniensis auctore (ut videtur) Wulstani monachi ejus discipuli ex MS. Codice Cœnobii Uticensis in Gallia. Acta Benedict. sæc.* v. *p.* 606. In the Missale Roberti, Archiepiscopi, his feast occurs on the first of August, and the day of his translation is kept on the thirteenth of September. (See Appendix.)

[a] Among the Cotton MSS. is a copy of Wulstan's life of St. Æthelwold, Nero, E. I. fo. 142. See also "de Sancto Æthelwoldo," in the registrum de Abbendon, MS. Cotton, Claudius, B. VI. fo. 53, 84, and Dugdale's Monasticon, edit. 1817, vol. i. p. 516; Hen. Huntind. lib. v. 204, Malmesbury, de Gestis Pontif. lib. ii. et de Gestis Reg. cap. viii.; Alban Butler's Lives of Saints, vol. viii. p. 29.

[b] Among the subscribing witnesses to King Edred's charter to the abbey of Croyland in 948, occurs "Ego Athelwoldus Abbas Abendonensis approbaui." Ingulphi Hist. f. 498 b.

[c] Sax. Chron.

[d] Sic que valefaciens et dans pacem filiis suis inter verba orationis spiritum cœlo reddidit in kalendas Augusti anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo octogesimo quarto, episcopatus autem sui vicesimo secundo, regni moderamina gubernante Ætheldredo rege Anglorum. *Wulstan. Acta Bened. Sæc.* v. *p.* 622. See also Ingulf. 506, and Sax. Chron. Ælfric, in his life of

laudares: sanctitatis studium, an doctrinarum exercitium, in prædicatione instantiam, in ædificiis industriam."

This great prelate co-operated with Dunstan and Oswald in reforming the monks and in restoring learning.[f] He is celebrated as the refounder of the monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, and among the many ecclesiastical buildings[g] which he erected or rebuilt was his own cathedral church,[h] where he introduced monks from Abingdon in place of the secular canons.

St. Æthelwold, cited by Mabillon, in Acta Benedict. says that he died on the third of the Kalends of August.

[e] De Gestis Pontif. lib. ii. fo. 139.

[f] Si alicui tamen displicuerit nostra interpretatio, dicat quando vult, nos contenti sumus sicut didicimus in schola Athelwoldi venerabilis Presulis qui multos ad bonum imbuit——Sacerdotum nullus, donec Dunstanus Archiepiscopus & Æthelwaldus Episcopus in vita monastica (*i. e.* in monasteriis) doctrinam resuscitassent, epistolam Latinè scribere, aut (Latine scriptam) interpretari possit. *Ælfrici Grammatica, in Præf.* Somner. For the better government of his monks, he sent Osgar to the well-disciplined monastery of Fleury to learn the rule of St. Benedict. Wulstan; and vitæ SS. Dunstan et Oswald, in Acta Benedict.

[g] Tot, & tanta Monasteria fecit, quod vix modo credibili videatur, ut talia fecerit episcopus urbis unius, qualis vix posset rex Angliæ totius. Malmesb. de Gestis Reg. lib. ii. cap. viii.

[h] Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo octogesimo renovata et constructa est ecclesia veteris cœnobii, &c. Wulstan. 621.

Præsul Adelwoldus sacro spiramine plenus.
  Fecit ovans opera multa Deo placita.
Istius antiqui reparavit & atria templi
  Mœnibus excelsis culminibusque novis.
Partibus hoc Austri firmans & partibus Arcti,
  Porticibus solidis arcubus & variis.
Addidit & plures sacris altaribus ædes,
  Quæ retinent dubium limitis introitum.
Quisquis ut ignotis hæc deambulat atria plantis,
  Nesciat unde meat, quove pedum referat.
Omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur apertæ,
  Nec patet ulla sibi semita certa viæ.
Huc illucque vagas stans circumducit ocellos,
  Attica Dedalei tecta stupetque soli.
Certior adveniat donec sibi ductor, et ipsum
  Ducat ad extremi limina vestibuli.

Various are the writings attributed by Pitts[i] to St. Æthelwold; and, like St. Dunstan, he seems to have cultivated music and the arts, and is said to have been skilled in works of metal.[k] Happily in the Benedictional executed under his auspices, we possess one splendid proof at least of his taste and magnificence.

But let us not pass over in silence the humble scribe Godemann. This monk of St. Swithin's was chaplain[l] to Bishop Æthelwold, and such were his merits, that at the instance of his patron he became Abbot of Thorney[m] about the year 970,[n] and received the blessing from his hands.

Hic secum mirans, cruce se consignat, & unde
Exeat attonito pectore scire nequit.
Sic constructa micat, sic & variata coruscat
Machina, quæ veterem sustinet ecclesiam.
Wulstan. Ep. ad S. Elph.

[i] De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 178. See Mabillon's remarks on these writings in the preface to Wulstan's life of the Saint.

[k] Opituläte etiam piissimo Rege Eadgaro memorande memorie Abbas Athelwoldus tabulā fecit argenteam pretio ad pretiatum trecentarū librarū cujus etiam materiam forma exsuperabat artificialis quæ etiam usque ad tempus Vincentij abbatis illæsa permansit & inconfracta——. Fecit etiam duas campanas propriis manibus ut dicitur, quas in hac domo posuit, cum aliis duobus maioribus quas etiam Beatus Dunstanus propriis manibus fecisse perhibetur. Præterea fecit uir uenerabilis Athelwoldus quandam rotam tintennabulis plenam quam *auream* nuncupavit propter laminas ipsius deauratas, quā in festiuis diebus ad majoris excitationem devocionis reducendo uolui constituit. Reg. de Abbendon. Claud. B. VI. fo. 84. He procured, according to Butler, whose authority I am not acquainted with, a master of church-music from the monastery of Corbie. In the Hyde Abbey Book, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, fo. 89, is a fragment of the *exultat*, chanted on Holy Saturday in the monastery, with the musical notes which were in use before the present gamut was invented in 1020.

[l] Godemann nōīe monachum Winton & Capellanum ipsius S'c'ī Adelwoldi, idem s'c'us Abbatem instituit, & apud Thorneiam benedixit. MS. Harl. 6978, ex Reg. Rubro de Thorney, p. 119.

[m] Tertium nihilominus adquisivit (Æthelwoldus) pretio locum, juxta crepidinem prædicti fluminis situm, qui propter spineta circumquaque succrescentia Thornig solito nuncupatum Anglicè vocabulo, quem pari conditione Monachis aptissimum delegavit. Rectorem quoque illis & Abbatem Godemannum præposuit, constructumque monasterium in honore Dei genetricis & virginis Mariæ dedicavit, & bonorum omnium possessione gratulanter ditavit. *Wulstan. Act. Bened. p.* 616. Vide etiam *Eadmer, de Vita S. Oswald, in Acta Benedict.*

[n] Monachos ibidem statuit, et Godemannum eis abbatem præfecit circa annum gratiæ DCCCCLXX. ut refert Joannes in Historiâ Aureâ. Rudborne, in Angl. Sacr. tom. i. p. 218.

Although it is likely that this superb volume, filled with beautiful miniatures and ornaments of the richest design, was finished before Godemann had the government of the abbey of Thorney, we are sure of one thing, that it was executed in this country between the years 963, when Æthelwold received the episcopal mitre, and 984, when he died; and it is this known date that stamps so much value on the MS. Let us now examine it in detail.

Description of the MS. generally, and notice of the liturgic matter.

VI. The MS. is a folio on vellum, measuring eleven inches and a half by eight and a half, and contains one hundred and nineteen leaves,[o] of a thick and soft quality, in extraordinary preservation; the text is what is called by printers, Roman lower case, Anglo-Saxon characters being used in some proper names: each full page has nineteen lines, with letters nearly a quarter of an inch long. The capital initials, some of which are very large, are uniformly in gold; and the beginnings and endings of some benedictions, together with the titles, are in gold or red letters. Alternate lines in gold, red, and black, occur once or twice in the same page. All the chrysographic parts of the Benedictional, as well in the miniatures as in the characters of the text, are executed with leaf gold[p] laid upon size, afterward burnished: the gold throughout the MS., is solid and bright. As specimens of the character of the text, I have selected from the verso of fol. 4, portions of the metrical dedication in letters of gold, and from fol. 107, part of the benediction of St. Matthew, in the ordinary hand-writing of the volume. An

On referring to John of Tynmouth's life of St. Æthelwold, MS. Cotton. Tib. E. I. fo. iii, I do not find that he mentions the year when Godemann became Abbot. Capgrave, in his life of St. Æthelwold, fo. 153, copies John of Tynmouth verbatim.

[o] Dr. Dibdin, describing this volume in his Bibliographical Decameron, by mistake says one hundred and eighteen leaves, from an error in the modern pencilling of the number of folios of the MS. It is marked at the back simply MS. The notes which occur on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book, and upon the covering which faces, are certainly not in the hand-writing of Lord Burlington.

[p] In the dialogue between the Cluniac Monk and the Cistercian, *de diversis utriusque ordinis observantiis*, Thes. Novus Anecdot. V. Tom. 1623, this method may be that alluded to in the words of the Cistercian, *aurum molere et cum illo molito magnas Capitales pingere litteras, quid est nisi inutile et otiosum opus?*

alphabet of capital letters of different sizes is added: fac similes of these selections will be found in Plates I. and II. here inserted. It will be seen that one of the large capitals has suffered from corrosion.

The book is illuminated with thirty different miniatures, all of which, by the permission of the illustrious owner of the MS., having been engraved, will be found in the copy of the Benedictional subjoined to this Dissertation.

Beside the miniatures, there are thirteen pages highly illuminated, some with arches on ornamented columns; others, decorated with rectangular borders composed of flowers and devices; each page, where the opening of some principal benediction occurs, being in capital letters of gold, and where a miniature or painting fronts a decorated page, the arches, circles, or borders of both pages are made to correspond. A trefoil-headed arch, not uncommon in MSS. of this early date, occurs at fol. 21, and I observe that the capitals of the pillars in fol. 1 verso, resemble those of the tower arch at Barnack in Northamptonshire, which are carved in the manner of tiles laid one upon another.

In the order of the MS. the first three leaves, and the recto of the fourth, contain miniatures of the Confessors, Virgins, and Apostles, being the subjects etched in Plates III. to IX. inclusive. On a reference to Plate III. it will be seen, from the imperfect title "Confessorv'," and from the arrangement and title of the next Plates IV. and V. representing the Virgins, "Chorus Virginum," that Plate III. is a continuation of a subject, and that other Confessors were represented on a page that faced, with the first word of the title, probably *Chorus*,[q] inscribed; and I think it is not unlikely that more than one leaf is wanting at the beginning of the MS. and that the *Chorus Martyrum* was not omitted in the illuminations of the triumphant ranks of the Church. Other leaves are also wanting, for the feasts of the Holy Innocents and St. Michael appear each to have had an illuminated frontispiece, which is now wanting. The metrical dedication occupies the verso of the fourth leaf, and the recto of the fifth, so as to make corresponding pages in gold characters. The verso of the fifth leaf contains a miniature of the Annunciation, the subject of Plate X., inscribed

[q] *Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus.* Hymn, Te Deum. In the litany of the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert occurs, "Omnis chorus confessorum."

PRESENTEM BIBLIÁ IVSSIT PSCRIBERE PRESUL
QUINTONIAE DÑS QUI FECERAT ESSE PARONÁ
MAGNUS ÆTELWOLDUS. VIR EGNARUS BENE XPI
AGNOS VELLIGERO SÁBDEMONIS ARTE MALIGNÁ
CONSERVARE. DÕ FRUCTÁ QUOQ: REDDERE PLENÁ
ICONOMOS CLARUS

QUINDÁ SUBIECTÁ MONACHÁ · CIRCOS QUOQ: MULTOS
IN HOC PRECEPIT FIERI LIBRO BENE COMPTOS
COMPLETOS QUOQ: AGALMATIB: VARIIS. DECORATIS
MULTIGENIS MINIIS PULCHRIS · NEC NON SIMULAVRO
CRAXARE HUNC SIBI PRESCRIPTUS FECIT BOANARGES

Fol. III V.

BENÕ INNATI SCI MATHEI APOSTOLI.

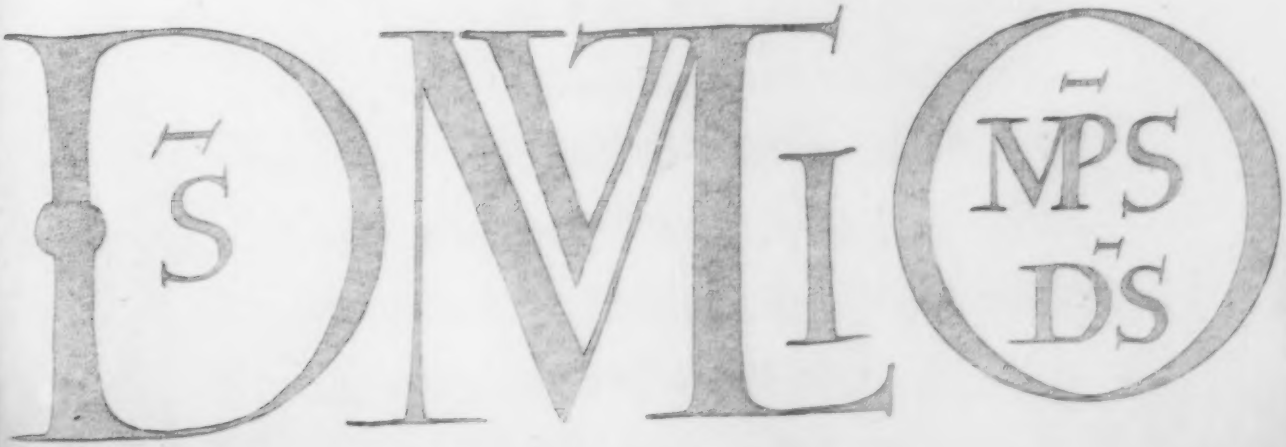
BENEDIC DÑE POPULÁ TUUM INTERVENIENTE MATHEO APTO · & DEVOTÁ RESPICE · HUMILITATEM VIDE · GEMITUS RESPICE · DOLENTES PATERNA PIETATE IUBE CONSOLARI · AÕ

Fol. CVII

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1st April, 1832.

G. F. Sharpe sc.

A B C D E F G
H I L M N O P Q
R S T U V Z



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 20th April 1832.

C. F. Stone, sc.

Nuntius e cælo hic stat predicando Mariae
Ecce Dm̃ paries hominẽque simul Benedicta.

This miniature makes a frontispiece to the text of the first benediction, which opens for the first Sunday of Advent with a splendid gold initial on the recto of fol. 6, having the following verses prefixed as a title:

Quisq. caput cernis presto est Benedictio praesul.
Libri hujus nati Adventus tibi nam patris almi.

Facing the benediction of the third Sunday of Advent is a miniature of the coming of the Son of Man in triumph, ***Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium***, which is the subject of Plate XI. The other miniatures are as follow: Plate XII. The Nativity. XIII. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen. XIV. St. John the Evangelist. XV. The Consultation of the Magi. XVI. Their Offering. XVII. The Baptism of Christ. XVIII. The Presentation in the Temple. XIX. The Entrance into Jerusalem. XX. The Maries visiting the Tomb after the Resurrection. XXI. Christ appearing to his Apostles. XXII. The Ascension. XXIII. The Descent of the Holy Ghost. XXIV. The Holy Trinity. XXV. St. Ætheldrytha. XXVI. Christ in Glory. XXVII. The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. XXVIII. St. Peter and St. Paul. XXIX. St. Swithin. XXX. St. Benedict. XXXI. The Death of the Blessed Virgin. XXXII. The Bishop blessing the people. This last miniature is unfinished, and parts are in red outline: a fac-simile is given of it, to shew the merit of the drawing. The colouring of the face of the Bishop has suffered in the original.

The book contains forms of Episcopal Benedictions for one hundred and sixteen festivals or solemn occasions throughout the year, beside an imperfect form, fol. 106, intended for the festival of the nativity of the blessed Virgin.

Of the festivals, two only are peculiar to England, those of St. Ætheldrytha and St. Swithin, both patron saints of St. Æthelwold, the one having been Abbess of the monastery of Ely, which he refounded, the other his predecessor in the see of Winchester. There are, however, many forms of benediction which do not occur in any of the printed editions of the Sacramentaries of which I have spoken, though most of the forms will be found in some of them, as may be seen by my references to them. I have shown the

concordance of this Benedictional with the ***Benedictionarius Roberti, Archiepiscopi,*** and with the ***Missale Leofrici.***

It must be observed, that there is no conformity in the benedictions of St. Æthelwold with those of the Missale Gothicum; the forms do not even resemble each other, excepting those for the Epiphany, and the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Andrew. On the other hand there is scarcely a benediction in the Roman Pontifical of Leo X. which is not contained in this Benedictional, and for the great feasts the forms in all the Gregorian Sacramentaries are nearly the same as in this MS.

The MS. described as a work of art.

VII. As a liturgic work, this MS. wants that variety to be found in a Benedictional united with the Pontifical; but, as a work of art, it is full of interest. To describe the drawing and composition of the miniatures with which it is embellished, requires a master's hand; and I rejoice myself, and congratulate the Society, that the task has been performed for us by one of the most experienced and intelligent judges in this country of the miniature painting and calligraphy of the middle ages, and of the state of the Arts from their decline to their revival.

Mr. Ottley has expressed his opinion on the merits of these paintings, in a letter addressed to me, which, with his permission, I subjoin:

"Dear Sir,

"You desire from me a few words on the Illuminations in St. Æthelwold's Benedictionary, with my opinion of their merits as works of art. I feel honoured by the request, and comply with it the more willingly, as I can honestly say that I think them in the highest degree creditable to the taste and intelligence of this nation, at a period when in most parts of Europe the fine arts are commonly believed to have been at a very low ebb.

"An Italian writer, Trombelli, in a work intitled L'Arte di conoscere l'età de Codici Latini et Italiani, (of which many years ago some one of my acquaintance furnished me with an extract; for I have not seen the book itself,) speaks of the Illuminations which he had seen in Latin manuscripts, supposed to have been written during the tenth and three following centuries, to this effect.

"The first MS. mentioned by him of the period, is a treatise De Cruce,

by one Robano, which is, or was when he wrote, preserved in the college of S. Clemente, at Bologna.

"In this MS." says he, "which appears to have been written a little before the year 1000, the Illuminations are very rude, without any beauty in the colouring, and on the whole are not such as to deserve the name of decorations, or to add to the value of the book.

"In the celebrated library of S. Domenico at Bologna, is a compendium of annotations on the Gospels, also attributed to Robano, which was written about the year one thousand; and in the library of S. Benedetto at Mantua, is the well known MS. of the four Gospels, written in the time of the Countess Matilda. In both these Manuscripts are various designs representing the Stories related in the text, but so ill done that they are calculated to excite laughter, rather than to raise feelings of devotion.

"In a small Missal," he continues, "also of the eleventh century, in my own possession, the Crucifixion, which is placed before the Canon, is drawn in such a way as to shew the extreme unskilfulness of the artists of those times; which may be also said of the other images occasionally found in Manuscripts of that age; which, as far as I have seen of them, are drawn with a pen, and have no body of colouring (senza impasto alcuno dei colori); for, though colours are sometimes used, especially at the terminations of paragraphs, or here and there upon the faces and draperies, all this is done so unskilfully, that in our days a boy, upon first entering the school of any master, would show more proficiency.

"In Manuscripts of the 12th century, we meet with illuminations not altogether devoid of merit, and begin to discover a glimmering of taste. Gold, now, not only appears in the borders, but also in the other illuminations, and in the little figures in Manuscripts; though this gold is of a dull hue, without consistency, and appears to have been put on in a liquid state with a brush; nor is the colouring of these miniatures more brilliant.

"Of the 13th century, we find Manuscripts with much richer and better executed decorations. I am in possession," continues Trombelli, "of a Psalter, which appears, from the calendar prefixed to it, to have been written in the time of Gregory IX. (Pope from 1227 to 1241), as in that calendar the name of St. Francis appears, but not that of St. Dominick; whence we may conclude it to have been written within the short interval that elapsed between the canonization of those two Saints, (the last of whom was canonized by this Pontiff,) or within a very few years afterwards.

"In this MS. the gold, which is unsparingly introduced, is very brilliant, as are also the colours; but the drawing of the figures is still very bad, though somewhat less so than in the illuminations of the preceding centuries. Design, therefore, had improved

but little; but the art of preparing and using fine colours, and that of laying on the gold, were now perfected."

"After having spoken briefly of Latin Manuscripts of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, Trombelli proceeds thus:

"Whatever has been said of Latin Manuscripts, is also applicable to those in the Italian language; but of Greek Manuscripts we must speak in other terms. We meet with some of these, decorated with miniatures of considerable merit, although done in those very times when our Manuscripts present only such as are in the highest degree rude and barbarous; in proof of which, without going from home, I may produce a Greek Testament in my library, written in the 11th century; wherein are two beautiful little miniatures, the one representing St. Luke writing his Gospel, the other the Last Supper. In a Greek Psalter of the 10th century, also in my collection, are two exceedingly good figures upon a gold ground. To which I may add that the Ruxeni Manuscripts, which, as I have elsewhere said, were given, with many others, to the library of the Institute (of Bologna), are decorated with very beautiful miniatures. Nor ought we to wonder at this, as the Greeks, having in those times a court so flourishing as was that of Constantinople, had leisure and encouragement to cultivate the Fine Arts, and to teach them to neighbouring nations; whilst the poor Italians, subject to continual inquietudes, and predatory incursions from people who had no respect for such pursuits, were compelled to employ themselves far otherwise than in painting elegant and delicately-finished miniatures. And hence, when, upon any particular occasion, a work of art was required, of tolerable design, and passably executed, they were obliged to send for Greek artists to do it, or else to purchase it from them," &c.

"The terms in which the above writer expresses himself, of the very low state of the art of decorating manuscripts in Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and of its gradual improvement in the two following, are too general to convey anything like a distinct idea of the style and merits of the illuminators of those times; except that, until the 13th century, they commonly introduced but few colours; that these wanted brilliancy and consistency, and were but little if at all softened into each other, in the way necessarily required in finished miniature-painting; and that the art of preparing and laying on the gold was but imperfectly understood by them. In other respects, perhaps, if we had the opportunity of seeing the different volumes to which he refers, we might think the terms in which he speaks of their decorations somewhat too disparaging.

" One of these manuscripts, that of the four Gospels, said to have been presented to the Benedictine monastery at Mantua by the Countess Matilda, and which Lanzi thought of sufficient importance to deserve mention in his celebrated Storia Pittorica, was some years ago brought here for sale; when, for a short time, it was intrusted to my care. It is a folio, on vellum, and now graces the princely collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. Upon what authority the tradition rests, that Matilda gave it to the Convent, I know not. In the page following the last Gospel, I read: ***Bone memorie domn. Wilihelm. abb. fec. hunc libru' fieri;*** and further in the page, speaking of benefactors and others to be prayed for, it is written thus: ***Inp'mis igit' dom' pape Vrbani sic' cap' e' fidelium,*** &c. A marginal annotator of 1713 states, that Abbot Wilhelmus was living in 1097, as appears, he says, from a document, page 43, in the history of the monastery of S. Benedetto di Padolirone; and that he died before or during the year 1099, is evident from Urban II. being here prayed for, who was Pope from March 1088 to July 1099. Whether or not Wilhelmus had been raised to the dignity of Abbot some years before 1097, we are not told. In any case we cannot be wrong in dating the MS. within the last ten or fifteen years of the eleventh century.

" In that MS. the capital letters, from the beginning to about one third of St. Matthew's Gospel, are enriched with colours, in addition to the red commonly used, and oscasionally by gilding; as are also the ornamental borders surrounding certain indexes, prefixed to the Gospels, under the title of Canons. The other Illuminations consist of drawings neatly done in outline with a pen and bistre, without any shading whatever. They of course represent the principal stories of the life of Christ; and sometimes two or more subjects are introduced in the same page, as in one, whereof the copy is before me, which has Peter denying Christ; Christ bearing his Cross; Christ crucified between the two thieves; and the Angel seated on the lid of the Sepulchre after the Resurrection, with the Maries on one side, and on the other the guards. But though these drawings are neither shaded nor coloured, they are here and there enriched with gold, upon which are traced zigzag and other lines of vermilion; as in the borders of the draperies, the glories, or diadems round the heads of sacred personages, and in various

other parts; so as to produce a very singular effect. The gold throughout is of a dingy greenish hue, corresponding with the observations of Trombelli; but the drawing of the figures is less rude than he represents. The feet and hands, indeed, are outlined with more intelligence than is commonly the case in works of the period; and though the figures in general are of rather too short a proportion, some of them, as the angel before-mentioned, seated on the Sepulchre, and those of the two females sitting near it in pensive attitudes, are so far from deserving the contemptuous expressions he applies to the illuminations of this manuscript, that they are really well composed, and I had almost said graceful, figures.

"The first observation that naturally occurs, in speaking of the Benedictionary of St. Ethelwold, is that, although an undoubted work of the tenth century, executed in England, it possesses in an eminent degree that richness in the colouring of its illuminations, and lustre in the gilding, which the Italian writer has just told us is seldom if ever found in manuscripts written in his country before the commencement of the thirteenth century.

"In the thirteenth century, as every one knows, the Arts of Painting and Sculpture in Italy received new life at the hands of Niccola Pisano, Giunta, Cimabue, and Giotto; from which time they steadily progressed, till the happy era of Giulius the Second and Leo the Tenth. But, for some centuries preceding the thirteenth, I have sometimes seen reason to conjecture, that the arts were in a more flourishing state in various countries distant from Italy than there; to say nothing of Greece, from which, it is probable, the inhabitants of those countries, like the Italians themselves, directly or indirectly, and perhaps at distant periods, originally derived instruction in those matters. That the art of miniature painting, especially, was better known, and more successfully practised in France in the thirteenth century, and probably long before, than in Italy, has always appeared to me clear, from the well-known passage in the eleventh canto of Dante's Purgatorio, where the poet thus addresses Oderigi d'Agubbio, a miniature painter, said to have been the friend of Cimabue:

> Oh dissi lui, non se' tu Oderisi,
> L'onor d'Agubbio, e l'onor di quell' arte
> Che alluminar è chiamata a Parisi?

" But to return to St. Ethelwold's manuscript. The next thing I would mention is the justness of the general proportions of the figures, especially those larger standing figures of Confessors, female Saints, and Apostles, which occupy the first seven pages of the book. The two groups, intitled Chorus Virginum, are particularly admirable in this respect, as well as for the easy gracefulness of the attitudes of some of them, and the cast of the draperies; so that, had the faces more beauty and variety of expression, and were the hands less like one another in their positions, and better drawn, little would remain to be desired. This deficiency of beauty in the heads, amounting, I fear I must admit, to positive ugliness, appears to have been in a great measure occasioned by the difficulty which the artist encountered in his attempts to finish them with body-colours; as may be seen by comparing these heads with those drawn only in outline in the last miniature in the book; if, indeed, the colouring was not in great part performed by a different person from him who drew the outlines; and, I would add, that the fault is more apparent, throughout the volume, in the large than in the smaller figures. Indeed the little angels, holding scrolls, or sacred volumes, which are introduced within the arches over the above groups of Saints, especially the two last, have so much gracefulness and animation, are so beautifully draped, and so well adapted in their attitudes to the spaces they occupy, that I hardly know how to praise them sufficiently.

" Wherever the naked parts of the figure are shown, there we have most evidence of the incompetence of the artist; and consequently the figures of the Apostles, whose feet and ankles appear uncovered, are less agreeable than those of the above female Saints. But, as you are aware, this unskilfulness in the art of drawing the naked parts of the human figure is not the fault of the painter, but of the period; and, indeed, it was not until three centuries after the date of this manuscript, that any notable advancement was made in this difficult part of the art.

" The draperies of the figures throughout the volume, with scarce any exception, are well cast; though the smaller folds are often too strongly marked in proportion to the larger ones; which, with the want of any decided masses of light and shadow distinguishing those sides of objects which are turned towards the light from such as are not so, prevents their producing the agreeable effect which they otherwise would do: but this, again, is more the fault of the time than of the artist. The colouring throughout

these Illuminations is rich without being gaudy. It is possible that in the tenth century some of the gay colours, in the use of which the miniature painters of more modern times indulged so freely, were but little known If I am wrong in this supposition, we must accord to the illuminator of this manuscript the praise of having possessed a more chastened taste than many of his successors.

"That the decorations of this Manuscript are among the finest and richest of the period, I have little doubt; that they were done in England may be considered as certain; and the most natural conclusion would seem to be that the artist was an Englishman. It is possible that Godeman may have been the painter as well as the writer: but the absence of any other name save his, and that of Æthelwold, is not I think sufficient to prove him to have been so; as the name of the scribe is often found, in the colophons of old manuscripts, but scarcely ever an accompanying record of the illuminator, however great his merits. These paintings savour very much of the Greek manner: so much so as to lead me to suspect, that among the numerous foreigners whom King Edgar is said to have encouraged to settle in this country, there may have been some skilful artist, who laid the foundations of a better school of art among us than we before possessed.

"I have looked at the Cotton MS. Vespasian, A. VIII, in the British Museum, and, after examining it with some care, and comparing it with the Benedictionary, feel no doubt in my own mind that it was written (I mean the first part of it) in the year 966, by command of King Edgar, and, as you know, in letters of gold.[q] At fol. 30, we read: *Anno incarnationis dominice* dcccclxvi. *scripta est huius privilegii singrapha his testib. consentientib. quor' inferius nomina ordinatim caraxant'*. And then follows:

"✠ *Ego Eadgar, divina largiente gratiâ Anglorum basileus, hoc privilegii donu' n'ro largiens rede'tori locoq.* &c. ✠ *Ego Dunstan, dorobernensis ec'le,* &c. ✠ *Ego Eadmund,* &c. and many other names, each with a cross prefixed to it in the margin. It is to be observed, that, though many of these crosses are gilt, they are not all so; and moreover that they are not all of the same shape. Whence I suspect, that, although the names were written in gold by the scribe, like the rest of the MS. and many of the crosses gilded afterwards, the crosses had in the first instance been traced

q In the Annals of Hyde Abbey, in the British Museum (not, however, a MS. of this early period) we have: "Nong' lxvi. Egar' rex cont'lit nouo monast'io Wy'ton' libru' p'uilegior' aureis l'ris sc'ptu'.

by the different parties (perhaps, in some cases with a point leaving no mark, as a person now sometimes puts his seal to an instrument without using wax), and that some of them may have drawn their crosses with a pen,[r] as they now appear. In short I am much disposed to consider this golden book as an *original document.*

"In the illuminated frontispiece to this manuscript, King Edgar is represented standing between the Madonna and St. Peter, and presenting or offering the book to Christ, who is seated above in a glory supported by four angels. These verses are seen on the page facing:

Sic celso residet solio qui condidit astra
Rex venerans Eadgar pron' adoret eũ.

The style of this miniature, with its surrounding ornaments, though the figures are smaller, is so much like that of St. Æthelwold's Benedictionary, that I would not undertake to say it is not by the same hand. St. Peter, as he is represented there, is a man of middle age, and with the tonsure; and the angels appear decidedly of the self-same family as those in that volume.

"In speaking of the illuminations of the Benedictionary, I have for the most part confined myself to general observations on their merits. The very correct engravings which the Society of Antiquaries have caused to be made, and which I think do the engraver Mr. Storm great credit, would seem to render any thing like descriptions of particular miniatures superfluous. I may be permitted, however, to observe that my favourite of the whole is that in which Christ is represented in Glory, journeying through the air, attended by a host of angels bearing the instruments of his passion, in order that he may judge the world in righteousness, according to that gospel which he sealed with his blood; a design which, were it executed on a large scale, as finely as it is conceived, would make one of the most sublime pictures that has yet appeared.

"I wish my time and ability had enabled me to furnish something more worthy of accompanying your learned dissertation upon this interesting volume. Still I trust you will receive my remarks, such as they are, in proof that I am with sincerity, dear Sir, your very obedient and faithful servant,

(Signed) WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY."

[r] Dr. Ashby, of Barrow, a learned critic, in his MS. notes to a description of St. Edmunds-

May I be permitted, after these valuable remarks of Mr. Ottley, to point out some circumstances of these paintings which seem to require, or at least to admit of illustration; and in conclusion to add a word or two upon the painter?

The prominent figures among the Confessors are Gregory the Great, St. Benedict, and St. Cuthbert, who are represented in pontificals, each wearing the chasuble over the dalmatic, and tunic, with the stole, which appears below the last mentioned garment; above the chasuble hangs, I believe, the super-humerale, joined with the rationale, and over all the pallium, spotted with crosses.

The chasuble, *casula*, or *planeta*, is the outer vestment used during sacrifice. It was pulled over the head, and *quasi casa* covered the whole figure, differing from the cope, *cappa*, which was open in front, and used for the choir service and ceremonials.[s] In the tenth century, as appears by the MS. before us, the chasuble in this country preserved the form described; but, lifted up by the arms, it is seen in folds forming a peak in front, whence the garment became gradually rounded at the bottom, and for convenience was cut open on the sides to the shoulder, in the manner it is now worn. The chasuble of St. Amé or Amatus, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Douay, is of the original form. The vestment of St. Bernard, at Aix la Chapelle, shews it in the next stage, pointed at the bottom, and open to a certain height at the sides.

The dalmatic, according to Amalarius, was instituted by Pope Silvester, and was often extremely rich: it is the vest which the Deacon receives on his consecration. The tunic is the garment of the Subdeacon. In the *Missa Ratoldi*, after the Bishop has put on his boots, which reached to the knees, his sandals, alb, girdle, belt, and stole, *super hæc itaque ministretur ei tunica gyris in tintinabulis mirice*[t] *refecta.*

The stole, *jugum Christi*, is worn by the Deacon and Subdeacon over the

bury, expresses the same opinion in regard to the crosses of witnesses to Anglo-Saxon charters. The earliest instance I remember of witnesses individually making a cross to a charter, occurs in one of William the Conqueror to the monks of St. Pancras at Lewes, in the Cotton Collection, Vesp. F. III. fol. 1. EDIT.

[s] By the Constitutions of Archbishop Winchelsey each parish was to provide a chasuble for principal feasts, a dalmatic, tunic, and cope for the choir, with their appendages.

[t] Mirice pro mirifice.

left shoulder. The angel ministering to the lamb,[u] in the bas-relief drawn by Arringhi, from the cemetery of S. Severinus in Piceno, is represented with a stole over his neck, as worn by the priest. There is no mention of the dalmatic in the Mass just referred to; but the Bishop, having put on the stole, and received the maniple and ring, and washed his hands and combed his hair, *postea ministretur ei casula: tandem vero rationale cohærens junctim super-humerali.*

The various meanings[v] which have been given to the episcopal ornaments called the rationale and super-humerale create much difficulty in distinguishing them, and sometimes both one and the other have been called the pallium. The super-humerale appears to me to have resembled the pallium in shape, being an ornament of silk or other stuff over the shoulders, with a label in front and behind, but wanting the crosses of the pallium, and of the Greek omophorion, which it resembled. The rationale, borrowed from the Jews, was a square ornament, of jewels or rich silk, on the breast, joined to the super-humerale. All the Greek Bishops wore the omophorion, and I believe that the early Gallican and English Bishops wore the super-humerale in imitation of the Greeks. The pallium,[w] which was generally given as a mark of metropolitan dignity, hung, in the tenth century, like the Greek omophorion, below the knees: at present it terminates in a point below the breast. It was distinct, I conceive, from the super-humerale, as may be seen by comparing the miniatures of the Confessors and St. Swithin together. The latter is without the pallium, simply with the super-humerale and rationale: these are all worn together by the Confessors. To represent St. Benedict in pontificals, to give him and St. Cuthbert the pallium, and to colour variously the crosses, which ought to have been purple, must have been the fancy of the painter. One thing, however, may be observed, that the costume, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the figures represented in this MS., is purely English.

The cutting off the hair has always been the first distinctive mark of clerical orders, whence Prudentius, describing St. Cyprian after his dedication to God, says,

[u] Arringhi, Roma Subter. vol. ii. p. 559. [v] See Zaccaria, Du Cange, Mabillon, and Ruinart.

[w] Gregory the Great bestowed the pallium on St. Augustin. *Usum tibi palii in ea ad sola missarum sollemnia agenda concedimus.* Epist. Greg. Mag. ad Augustin. Bed. lib. i. c. xxix.

Iamque figura alia est, quam quæ fuit, oris, et nitoris.—
Deflua cæsaries compescitur ad breves capillos.

The Confessors, therefore, are represented with the hair cut short, and with crowns on their heads, in token of triumph.

St. Ætheldrytha, the daughter of Anna King of the East Angles, appears in the Choir of Virgins splendidly attired, and is to be distinguished by her resemblance to the miniature bearing her name, where her dress is equally magnificent,—a scarlet or vermillion mantle thrown over a close gold vest, with a gold veil falling over the shoulders, and gold shoes on her feet. This pious Abbess, according to Bede, lib. i. c. iv. 19, denied herself the use of linen. It would seem, however, from Aldhelm, de Virginitate, p. 364, that the dress of royal Anglo-Saxon nuns was often gorgeous.

It is curious to observe the tenacity with which early nations clung to the same unvarying mode of representing the objects of their attachment. In the Egyptian statues we have the same features and forms of their Gods always recurring. In the Saxon effigies of the first founders of Christianity, the original characters transmitted to our countrymen of these holy men, are scrupulously retained; and not only is St. Peter constantly represented in the miniatures of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. with the tonsure, and without a beard, but the very likeness is preserved more or less according to the ability of the artist. The same that he appears in the Choir of the Apostles, he is seen in the miniature of Christ after the Resurrection, and in those of the Ascension, the descent of the Holy Ghost, and of the Martyrdom of this Apostle.

The form of prayer in the Anglo-Saxon Pontifical,[x] used by the Bishop in conferring the tonsure, begins, *Oremus, fratres charissimi, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum pro hoc famulo suo qui ad desumendam comam capitis sui pro ejus amore festinat*; and, the Ordo Romanus, after the words, *pro ejus amore*, adds, *ut exemplo beati Petri Apostoli.* In the dispute between the Roman and Scottish Missionaries, the former asserted, that their tonsure had descended to them from the Prince of the Apostles, while that of their adversaries was the distinguishing mark of Simon Magus and his disciples.[y] There are many ecclesiastical writers, and among them Saint

x MS. Roberti Archiepiscopi.

y Bed. lib. iii. c. xxv.; lib. v. c. xxi. See also the Appendix to Smith's Bede, num. ix. p. 705.

Gregory of Tours,[z] who refer the origin of the tonsure to the cutting off the hair of the Apostle St. Peter by the Gentiles, according to tradition, in order to make him an object of derision. Thus it is sufficiently explained why St. Peter is represented by the Anglo-Saxons with the tonsure, and shaved. It is curious to observe, that the Romans themselves did not at a later time represent the Apostle in the same manner. The head of St. Peter on the papal leaden bullæ has curly hair, without the tonsure; and, instead of being shaved, he has a curly beard. In some of these miniatures the Apostle has two keys in his hand, in others a double key surmounted by a cross.

St. Paul has a flowing beard, and a remarkable parted lock on his forehead, with which he is frequently represented. The Oriental tonsure is ascribed to St. Paul.

In the miniature of St. John the Evangelist, who is clothed in a gold vest with a greenish mantle, the eagle holds in his beak a large golden ink-horn. Mr. Douce has a German engraving of this Evangelist writing the Revelations in the Isle of Patmos, and who may be supposed to be prophesying the triumph of St. Michael over Satan, for the Devil is represented behind the Evangelist stealing away his ink-horn. Although we have the ink-horn in this miniature, the more ancient method of writing is expressed in the miniature of the birth of St. John the Baptist: Zachary is there writing *Johannes est nomen ejus*, with the style.

The kind of bandaged stocking, so common in all the Saxon figures, which is seen to advantage in the miniature of the Magi, where the principal figure has garters of gold with tassels, was, as Mons. Hyacinthe Langlois, the able and learned professor of painting at Rouen, informs me, in general use among the shepherds and country people of France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the latter century the butchers often rode on horseback with their legs clothed in this manner. This part of dress was made of white linen, and was called *des lingettes*, a name applied also to a

[z] Lib. i. de Gloria Mar. c. 28. We have another derivation of the tonsure in Egbert, Archbishop of York's excerptiones, Wilkins's Concil. tom. i. p. 111. "CLII. De Tonsura. Exordium tonsuræ a Nazarenis incepit, qui crine servato post vitæ magnæ continentiam caput radebant ut devotionem Domino consecrarent. CLIII. De Tonsura Petri. Petrus itaque Apostolus clericali tonsura primo usus est, gestans in capite imaginem coronæ spinæ Christi. Unde Canon Africanus præcepit ut clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam.

part of the ancient costume of the women of the Pays de Caux, that covered the arm. In the Appenines I have myself seen the contadini with a kind of stocking bandaged all the way up. The Highland stocking bears some resemblance to the costume.

The personification of the River Jordan occurs on a marble sarcophagus dug up in the Vatican, where Elias is represented seated in a fiery chariot in the air, throwing down on Eliseus the mantle with which he had just[a] divided the waters of the Jordan.[b] In our miniature of the Baptism of Christ, the figure of this river is classically represented with golden horns, and holding the urn from which the water is poured.

> Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
>
> Æneid, viii. 77.
>
> Cælatâque amnem fundens pater Inachus urnâ.
>
> Æneid, vii. 792.

Poussin, in his picture of the saving of Moses exposed on the banks of the Nile, has represented the river by a living human figure, with the Sphinx near it.

St. Swithin is habited in a blue chasuble over a gold dalmatic, or tunic, and wears the stole and maniple, and super-humerale with the rationale all in gold, and has gold shoes. He is tonsured, and without a mitre, which ornament is not found in any of the paintings in this MS., nor is it once mentioned either in this Benedictional, or the Pontifical of Archbishop Robert, where the Episcopal consecration occurs. Mitres are nearly of all times, nations, and religions. Pagans, Jews, and Christians, women as well as men, have worn them; although they have not always been of the same shape. The Greek Church, until I believe modern times, never used the mitre, and it does not appear to have been used in the Latin Church office until about the eleventh century. It will be observed, that St. Swithin carries the maniple on his left arm, differently from the Greek priest, who carries it on his hand, between the finger and thumb, and that ancient manner of carrying it is seen in an outline of an Anglo-Saxon Bishop in a Pontifical,[c] from the

[a] IV. Book of Kings, cap. ii.

[b] Arringhi, Roma Subter. tom. i. 905. In Prudenti Carm. tom. i. 252, edit. Romæ, 1788, is a drawing of a medal, ex Museo Victorio, of the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan.

[c] MS. numbered 362.

abbey of Jumieges, now in the public library at Rouen, older, I think, than St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, and it is also found in the figures on the stole and maniple from the shrine of St. Cuthbert.

Perhaps the last miniature in our MS., representing the Bishop giving the blessing, may be intended for St. Æthelwold. In the tower of the church in this miniature, the bells, and the cock, at the summit, will not fail to be observed.

Among the early Christians the cock was the emblem of vigilance, as well as the symbol of Christ and the Divine Word; and it is found on sarcophagi, lamps, and bas-reliefs, and in paintings of churches and cemeteries, as well as at the summit of churches.[d] The Cock on the tower at St. Swithin's in Winchester, here represented, is celebrated by Wulstan in the following lines:

Additur ad speciem stat ei quod vertice gallus
  Aureus ornatu grandis et intuitu.
Despicit omne solum, cunctis supereminet arvis,
  Signiferi & Boreæ sidera pulchra videns.
Imperii sceptrum pedibus tenet ille superbis,
  Stat super & cunctum Wintoniæ populum.
Imperat & cunctis evectus in aëra gallis,
  Et regit occiduum nobilis imperium.
Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique ventos,
  Seque rotando suam præbet eis faciem.
Turbinis horrisonos suffertque viriliter ictus,
  Intrepidus perstans; flabra, nives tolerans.
Oceano solem solus vidit ipse ruentem,
  Auroræ primum cernit & hic radium.
A longè adveniens oculo vicinus adhæret,
  Figit & adspectum dissociante loco.
Quo fessus rapitur visu mirante viator,
  Et pede disjunctus, lumine junctus adest.

Wulst. epist. ad Elpheg.

The sons of Zebedee received from their Divine Master the honourable

[d] See Fran Cancellieri de Secretariis Basilicæ Vaticanæ, lib. ii. cap. 14.

appellation of Boanerges, or sons of Thunder,[f] a name derived from the Hebrew; and which, as an epithet, is here applied by Godeman to the Great Æthelwold.

That Godeman was the illuminator of the MS. as well as the writer of it, I see no reason to doubt. Illumination was part of the art of Calligraphy, and, generally speaking, the miniature paintings and the writing in the early MSS. are to be presumed the work of the same hand. At the same time, instances do occur in which the name of the illuminator is recorded distinct from that of the writer. St. Æthelwold himself and St. Dunstan, among other native monks, are found excelling in works of silver and gold, which implies a cultivation of the arts: the monastery of New Minster at Winchester, alone, affords several specimens of skill in painting during the tenth and eleventh centuries; and I have proof that there were two painters in that monastery during the latter half of the tenth century, both of whom were English monks, and finding their names enrolled among the princes of the land, and the abbots of the monastery, I conclude that their memories were held in high estimation.

Among the Cotton MSS. is a small Miscellany, (Titus, D. XXVII.) containing, among other things, the office of the Holy Cross, and adorned with miniatures of the Crucifixion, and the Blessed Trinity. The miniatures are in outline, of a greenish tint, and the composition of both is very pleasing; they are certainly not executed by the hand of our artist. An etching of the miniature of the Trinity may be seen in the Bibliographical Decameron. Prefixed to the MS. is a calendar, with Tables of calculation; and at the foot of the calendar we have the following lines (the letters being enigmatically disposed) shewing the name of the writer of the MS., who was a monk of New Minster, and the party for whom it was written, who, I presume, was afterward abbot of that monastery.[g]

[f] St. Mark, cap. iii. v. 17.

[g] The obituary in the Calendar is in different hands, and records the deaths of the Abbots of New Minster and of some of the brethren of the house during the tenth and part of the eleventh century. Aelfwin became Abbot according to the annals of Hyde, in 1035; he was in Deacon's orders only at the time this MS. was written, and was, it is to be presumed, young. In the month of

Frater humillimus et Monachus,
Ælsinus me scripsit, sit illi longa salus, Amen.

vel us vel us vel us
Ælfwine, monache, Decane, compotum
Istum possideo vel me possidet. Amen.

And on the miniature of the Crucifixion we have these verses:

Hæc crux consignet Ælfwinum, corpore, mente,
In quo suspendens traxit Deus omnia secum.

The Paschal table begins with the year 978, which I think may be taken for the date of the MS., though the Calendar was either written a few years later by the same scribe, or had additions made to it by him, as in the month of September occurs in the same hand-writing, "non. iii. translatio. Æthelwoldi Ep'i," which event took place, according to the annals[b] of Hyde Abbey, in 998. I am further confirmed in this opinion, by the marginal notes of the Paschal table, which record the deaths of Edward the Martyr, St. Æthelwold, St. Dunstan, Æthelgar Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, in the order they occurred. Down to the year 1024, I can distinguish the same hand-writing. These deaths are transferred to the calendar, which serves for an obituary as well as for a table of festivals. Now, in the calendar in which are found the names of Kings Edred, Edgar, and Ethelred, of Aelfsinus, Byrhtwoldus, and Byrhtmerus, Abbots of New Minster, and of different Bishops and great men whose deaths all occurred during the latter half of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, we have in the original hand-writing the following remarkable entries:

In the month of May,

xiii. kal. Obitus Ætherici m° pict°.

In the month of July,

v. non. Obit' Wulfrici m° pictoris.

It is clear then that we had our native painters, and I am not sure that our public and private libraries, and the collections abroad, do not contain more

March occurs the death of Aelfwin's father, "*obit Aethelnothi pat' Aelfwini m° Abb.*" The last word is a later addition and I have no doubt was inserted after Aelfwyn became Abbot. The death of Aelsinus, who was probably the writer of the MS., is added in the Calendar.

[b] MS. Harl. nu. 1761.

specimens of art in calligraphy or illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries, executed in this country, than perhaps any other country can produce of its own execution during the same space of time. I am inclined to think from the similarity in the designs of the same sacred subjects in the different MSS. that the monks copied from standard drawings, with which they may have been originally supplied by the Greek school.

Among the examples issuing from Winchester, besides this MS. and the Hyde Abbey Book, containing the portrait of King Edgar, noticed by Mr. Ottley, others may be named. A MS. Miscellany in the Cotton Library, numbered Titus, D. XXVI. has a miniature of St. Peter seated on a throne, with a monk presenting the book to him. It is in blue or greenish outline, and I think by the same hand that executed the miniatures described in the MS. Titus, D. XXVII. The Benedictional in the public library at Rouen, already referred to, which was apparently written by the Monks of New Minster, contains, as will be seen in my description of that volume, three miniatures by the hand, or from the school, of Godeman. The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos is in possession of the Hyde Abbey Register, of which there is a description in O'Connor's Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis. The frontispiece to the Register, which the learned compiler of the Catalogue conjectures to have been written between the years 1028 and 1031, represents our Saviour, with the Virgin and St. Peter on either side, and below, King Canute and his Queen Ælfgiva, in rather graceful whole-length attitudes, with an angel over each. On the reverse of this frontispiece is a very interesting group, etched in the Bibliographical Decameron, representing the souls of the Blessed about to enter the gates of Paradise; and on the recto facing, is a representation of St. Peter, with attendant angels, opening the gates, while the Devils and Angels are contending below for the souls of the Departed.

But, to conclude, we have recently been gratified with the sight of embroidery, rich in imagery of prophets, saints, and evangelists, with figures in fair proportions, and draperies not inartificially designed. The Stole and Maniple, made by the order of Ælfled,[1] for Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, found in the tomb supposed to be St. Cuthbert's, and which the

[1] There were three ladies of this name during the early part of the tenth century; the daughter, daughter-in-law, and granddaughter, of Alfred.

Dean and Chapter of Durham did us the honour to transmit to us for the purpose of drawings being made of them, will be in the recollection of many of the Fellows of the Society. Frithestan was consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 910,[m] and died in 932, so that this embroidery was executed many years before St. Æthelwold's MS. That it is genuine English work there cannot be any doubt, for this country was famous for its embroidery, and long continued so; whence William of Poitiers,[n] speaking of the English, says, *that our women excelled in the use of the needle, and in the embroidery of gold, and our men in every species of elegant workmanship:* and such was the superiority of our English artists, that things of delicate workmanship in embroidery, or in the precious metals, were usually denominated by other European nations, *opera Anglica*, or English work.[o]

Possession of the MS. by the Cavendish family.

VIII. In the inventory, returned by King Henry the Eighth's Commissioners, of the effects of the Cathedral Church of St. Swithin, among the jewels of gold we have, *Item, a book of the four Evangelists, written all with gold;* and among the jewels of silver, *Item, seven books, the outer parts of them being plates of silver and gold.* Among the latter possibly was St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, now despoiled of its rich covering,[p] and in old Russia binding. In whose hands this rare MS. fell at the Reformation does not appear, but the solicitude of Lord Oxford to add it to his collection will be seen in the following extracts from Wanley's Diary,[q] which also informs us how the Cavendish family became possessed of it:

18 Jan. 1719-20. Certified that his Grace the Duke of Devonshire thinks himself bound not to part with St. Athelwold's book, given him by General Compton, although he hath no great value for it.

29 Nov. 1720. Mr. Sherard came for his instructions about getting the Greek MSS. at Nemenia, which instructions my Lord has approved of, but not yet returned. He said that the Duke of Devonshire cannot part with St. Athelwold's Benedictional.

m Sax. Chron. n Pict. p. 157, 158.

o Leo Marsicanus apud Muratori, Antiq. Med. ævi, diss. lviii. Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. i. 392.

p St. Æthelwold gave the monks of Abingdon a copy of the Gospels, cased in silver with fine gold, and precious stones.

q Lansdowne MS. 771, tom. i. fo. 20, 63, 84; tom. ii. fo. 121.

18 May, 1721. Mr. Sherard being about to go to France, and so to Holland, I drew up a commission for him to execute there, and he coming hither I delivered to him a set of Mr. Lord's prints of his lamp, Mr. Prior's letter, and my own, for Bernard Montfaucon. The Doctor went also to the Duke of Devonshire about St. Athelwald's Benedictional, which he carried to his Grace from hence, and spake to him to give it to my Lord in exchange for other books. His Grace replied that he had those books already; that he was yet of opinion that he could not in honor part with it, without General Compton's leave, who gave it him; that he would ask him, and if he gave his consent, he would send it to my Lord forthwith.

One further entry occurs in the diary, which shows that even after a lapse of more than four years, Lord Oxford still had hopes of obtaining the MS.

4 Nov. 1725. Doctor Sherard came to me at noon, and had much discourse with me about promoting my Lord's library business with the Duke of Devonshire and Dr. Mead, with respect to their oldest MSS.

St. Æthelwold's Benedictional is perhaps the most precious of all the MSS. in the Cavendish Collection, and deep are our obligations to the Duke of Devonshire, who, with a full sense of its value, and in order to promote the knowledge of Anglo-Saxon art, has had the magnificence to allow us the free use of the volume.

To Mr. Petrie I am indebted for first calling my attention to the MS., and it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the advice and information I have received from him during the progress of my labours.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's

obedient humble servant,

JOHN GAGE.

To the Right Honourable
The Earl of Aberdeen,
&c. &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

Missæ S. Æthelwoldi, Episcopi Wintoniensis, ex Missali Roberti, Archiepiscopi. MS. Bibl. Pub. Rothomag. 34. Med. Sæc. XI.

I.

Fol. 139 v. 140.

Kl. Aug. S'c'i Atheluuoldi Ep'i.

Dñ qui in [1] p̃clari sideris Sc̃i Pontificis Atheluuoldi Ep̃i [2] inlustratione [3] novam populis Anglorum tribuisti lucem hodierna die clarescere. tuam [4] suppliciter imploramus clementiam. ut cuius magisterio totius religionis documenta cognovimus. illius & exemplis informemur. & patrociniis adiuvemur p Dñm.

Alia. [5]

Dñ qui hodiernam diem beati Confessoris tui Atheluuoldi Ep̃i transitum nobis honorabilem dedicasti. Concede propitius. ut cuius eruditione veritatis tuae luce perfundimur. eius intercessione caelestis vitae gaudia consequamur p.

Secr.

Oblatae servitutis nr̃ae munera tibi Dñe q̃ñ annua sc̃i patris nr̃i. Atheluuoldi Ep̃i sollempnitas commendet accepta. ut eius pia supplicatione muniti. cunctorum nr̃orum remissionem peccaminum & beatudinis sempiternae mereamur obtinere consortium per Dñm nr̃m. [6]

Prefatio.

VD. Aeterne Dñ. qm̃ adest nobis iocunda et votiva praesentis diei laetitia. quam Apostolici culminis honore sublimem roseoque martyrii cruore sollempnem gloriosi Pontificis Atheluuoldi moderna caelebritate consecrasti. & spem nobis tante fiduciae contulisti. ut nos paternis eius suffragiis. & a peccatorum nr̃orum nexibus solvas. & ad regna caelestia [7] perducas. & ideo. [8]

Ad Compleñ. [9]

Refectos Dñe vitalis alimoniae sacramentis sc̃i Confessoris tui Atheluuoldi

[1] In *omitted* —Acta Benedict. Sæc. V. p. 626, ex MS. Codice Uticensi.
[2] Ep'i *omitted. ib.*
[3] Illustratione *for* inlustratione *ib.*
[4] Tuam *omitted. ib.*
[5] Ad Missam *for* Alia. *ib.*
[6] D'n'm n'r'm *omitted. ib.*
[7] Cœlestia regna *for* regna caelestia. *ib.*
[8] Per Christum *for* ideo. *ib.*
[9] Post communio *for* Ad Complen'. *ib.*

Epi gloriosa nos intercessione protege.[1] & ad aeternum caelestis mense convivium pervenire concede p.

Ad Vesperu'.[2]

Gregem tuum pastor aeterne conserva &[3] pii suffragatoris Atheluuoldi patris nri defensione guberna. ut cuius benevolentia provocati superni amoris dulcedine pascimur. eius interventu[4] patrocinante[5] & a temporalis vitae perturbationibus eruamur & mansuris supernorū civium gaudiis inseramur. p Dm nrm.[6]

II.

Idus Sept. Trans. S'c'i Atheluuoldi. Ibid. fol. 150.

Ds qui nobis scm[7] pontificem Atheluuoldum salutis aeternae doctorem tribuisti. concede propitius. ut cui annuæ translationis sollempnia colimus. eius semper meritis adjuvemur & precibus. p.

Secreta.[8]

Sacrificium nrm tibi Dne qs sci patris nri Atheluuoldi Epi. commendet oratio. ut nobis eo suffragante fiat maiestatis[9] tuae propitiatio. & a[10] peccatorum nrorum exoptata remissio p Dm nrm.[11]

Praefatio.

Aeterne Ds.[12] votivam beati pontificis Atheluuoldi translationem pia veneratione caelebrantes. ut quae[13] cernua devotione exorantes. ut ipsum nos apud clementiam tuam sentiamus habere patronum. quem tua gratia largiente salutis aeternae mereamur[14] suscipere magistrum. per Xpm Dm nrm.[15]

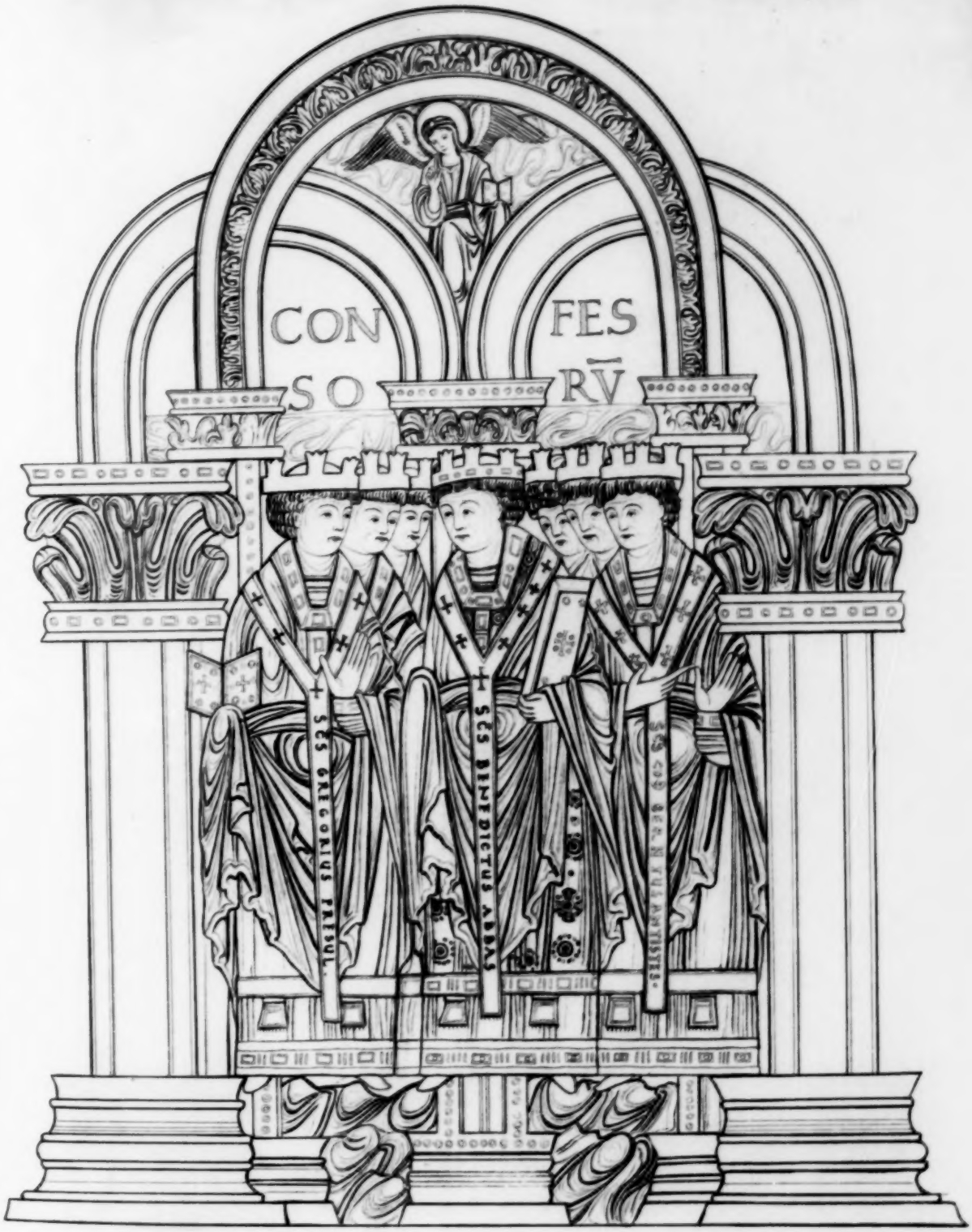
Ad Complendu.[16]

Ut haec nos Communio[17] Dne tibi dignos efficiat beatus pater nr Atheluuoldus suffragio qs piae intercessionis obtineat. p Dm nrm.[18]

[1] Intercessione gloriosa nos protege *for* Ep'i gloriosa nos intercessione protege. *ib.* —Acta Benedict. Sæc. V. p. 626.
[2] Alia *for* Ad Vesperu'. *ib.*
[3] Conserva &. *omitted.* *ib.*
[4] Inter veniente *for* interventu. *ib.*
[5] Patrocinio ante *for* patrocinante. *ib.*
[6] D'n'm n'r'm *omitted.* *ib.*
[7] tuum. *ib.*
[8] Super oblata, *for* Secreta. *ib.*
[9] Sanctæ.
[10] a *omitted.* *ib.*
[11] D'n'm n'r'm *omitted.*
[12] Aeterne D's. *omitted.* *ib.*
[13] Teque *for* utquæ. *ib.*
[14] Meruimus *for* mereamur. *ib.*
[15] D'n'm n'r'm *omitted.* *ib.*
[16] Post Communio *for* Ad Complendu.
[17] Communio nos *for* nos Communio.
[18] D'n'm n'r'm *omitted.*

BENEDICTIONALE

S. ÆTHELWOLDI EPISCOPI WINTONIENSIS.



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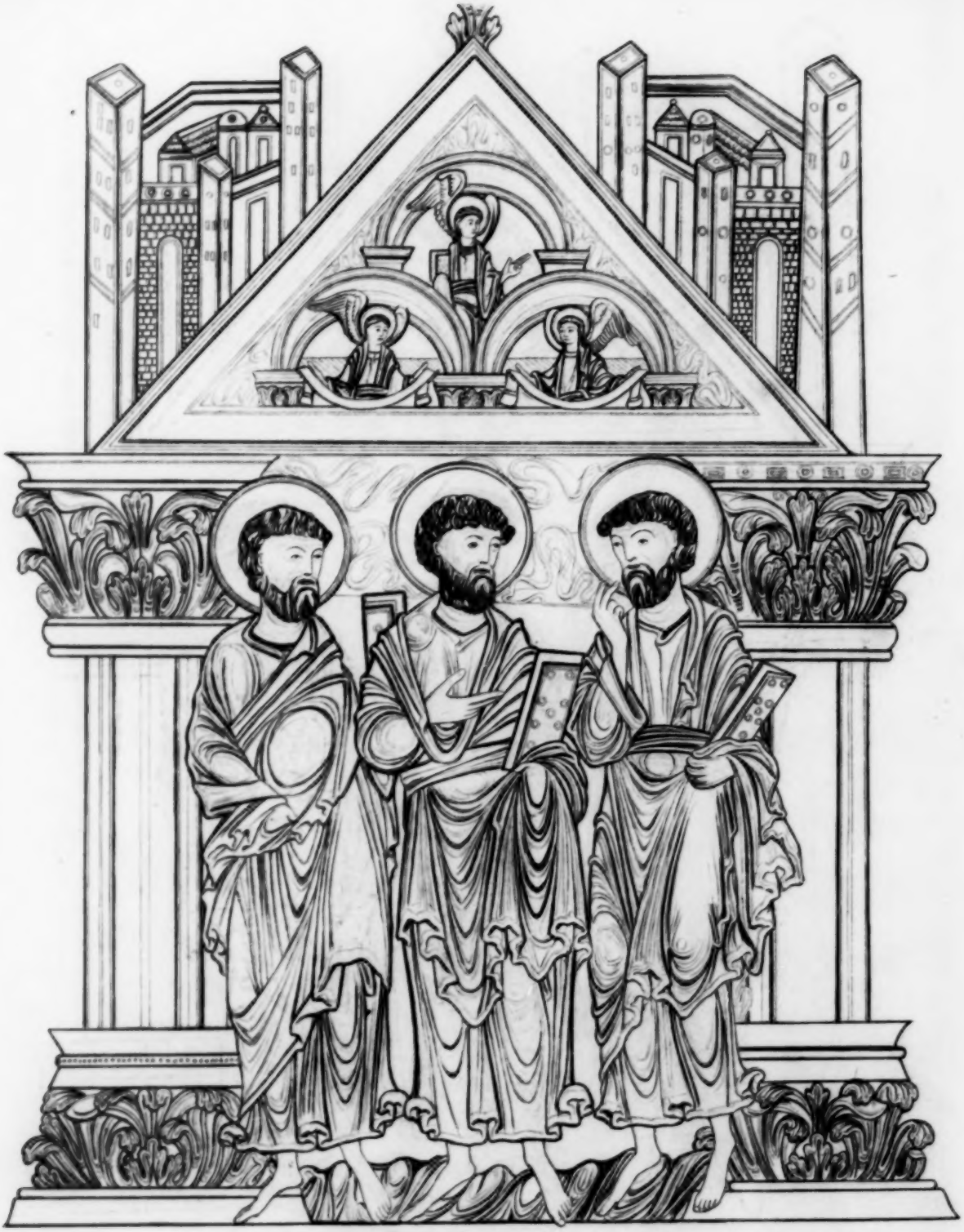

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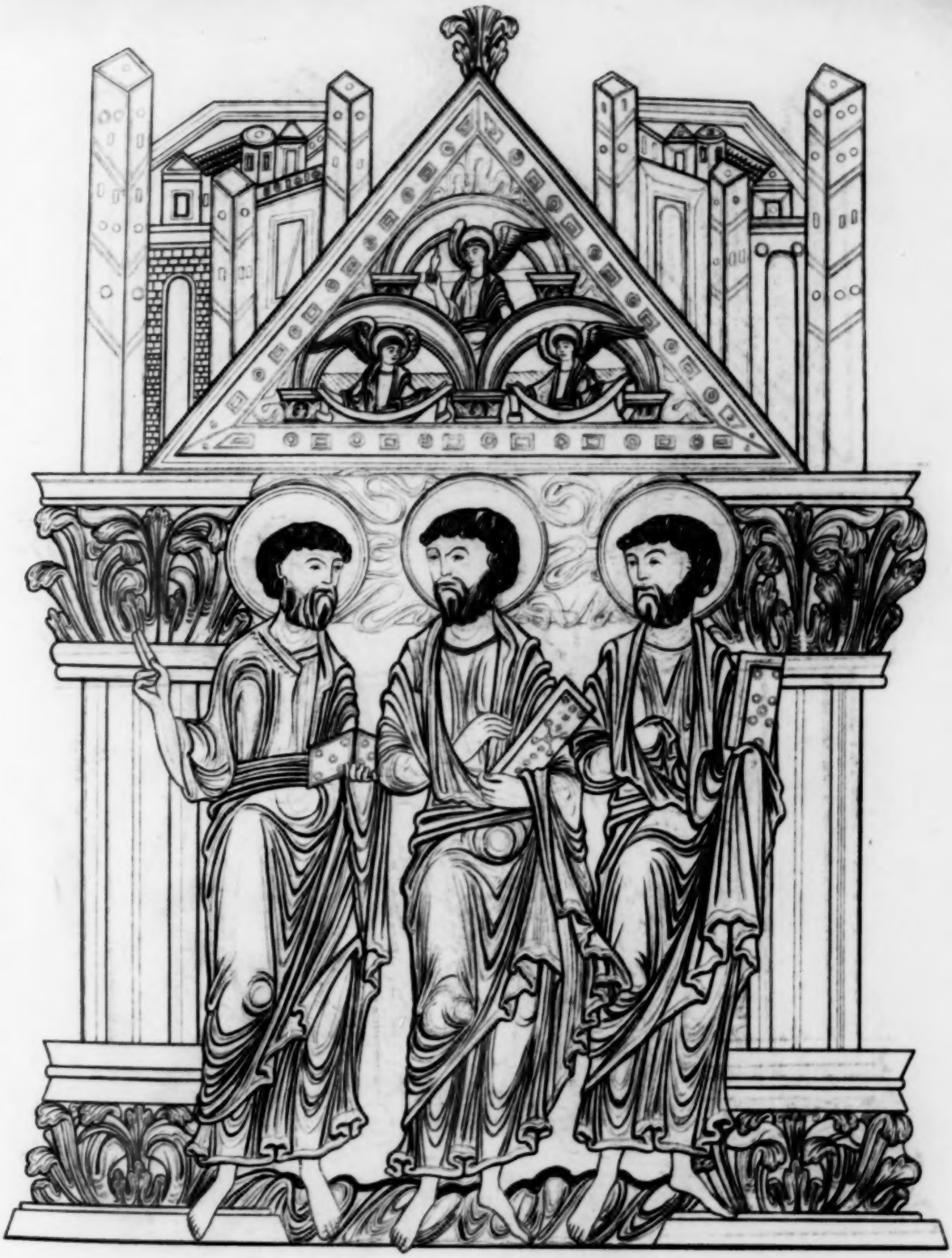

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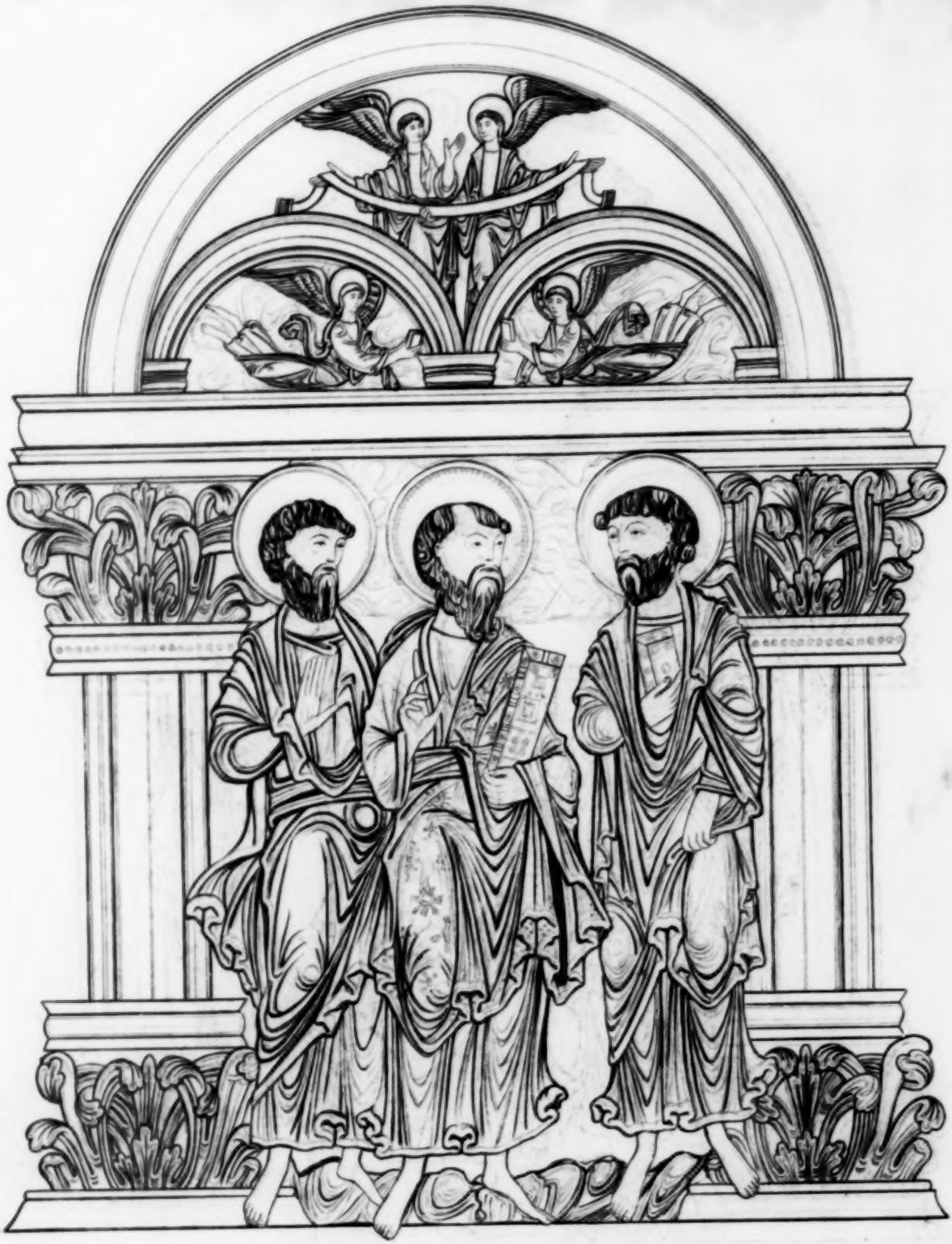
G. F. Jones



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 18th April, 1853.

G. F. Dunn, sc.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 28th April 1832.

[Fol. 4, verso, in capital letters of gold.]

PRESENTEM BIBLU' IUSSIT P'SCRIBERE PRESUL
UUINTONIAE D'N'S QUE' FECERAT ESSE PATRONU'
MAGNUS AÞELUUOLDVS. UERE GNARUS BENE XP'I
AGNOS UELLIGEROS AB DEMONIS ARTE MALIGNA
CONSERUARE D'O FRUCTU' QUOQ: REDDERE PLENU'
ICONOMOS CLARUS UENERABILIS ATQ: BENIGNUS
HIC CUPIT. ARBITER UT UENERIT QUI DISCUTIT ORBIS
TOTIUS FACTU' QUID QUILIBET EGERIT. ATQUE
MERCEDE' REDDET QUALEM TUNC FORTE MERENTUR.
AETERNA' IUSTIS UITAM. INIUSTIS QUOQ: POENA'.
QUENDA' SUBIECTU' MONACHU'. CIRCOS QUOQ. MULTOS
IN HOC PRECEPIT FIERI LIBRO BENE COMPTOS
COMPLETOS QUOQ: AGALMATIB: UARIIS DECORATIS
MULTIGENIS MINIIS PULCHRIS. NECNON SIMUL AURO
CRAXARE HUNC SIBI PRESCRIPTUS FECIT BOANARGES
IDCIRCO. UT SOTERIS POPULU' IN BIBLO POTUISSET
S'C'IFICARE. D'OQUE PRECES EFFUNDERE SACRAS
PRO GREGE CO'MISSO. NULLU' QUO PERDAT OUILIS
AGNICULU' PARUU'. UALEAT SED DICERE LAETUS
MEMET EGO ADSIGNO ECCE TIBI. PUEROS QUOQ: QUOS TU
SERUANDOS MIHI IA' DEDERAS. NULLU' LUPUS AUDAX
EX ILLIS RAPUIT LURCON TEMET FAUENTE.
SET SIMUL ADSTAMUS. UITA' CUPIMUSQ: MANENTE'
PERCIPERE IN CAELISQ: FRUI CU' PRINCIPE SU'MO
CUIUS MEMBRA SUMUS. CAPUT EST QUI JURE SALUSQ:
BAPTIZATORU' IN PATRIS ET NATIQ: FLAMINIS ALMI

[Fol. 5, in capital letters of gold.]

NOMINE CLARISONO. SI NON PER DEUIA UERGANT.
SEDQ: FIDEM TENEANT. FACTIS QUOQ: IUSSA SALUTIS
PERFICIANT. HERESIMQ: OM'EM DE CORDE REPELLANT.
PECCATQ: MALU' SEMP' SUPERARE STUDENTES
CONIUNCTI D'NO SINT IN CAELIS SINE FINE.
HOC CUNCTIS CLEMENS TINCTIS BAPTISMATE SACRO
CONCEDAT XPC SOTER. EST QUI REX BONUS ORBIS.
ATQ: PATRI MAGNO IUSSIT QUI SCRIBERE LIBRU' HUNC.
AETERNU' REGNU' CONCEDAT IN ARCE POLORUM.
OMNES CERNENTES BIBLU' HUNC SEMP' ROGITENT HOC
POST META' CARNIS UALEAM CAELIS INHERERE.
OBNIXE HOC ROGITAT SCRIPTOR SUPPLEX GODEMANN.'

[Fol. 6, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

Quisq: caput cernis presto est benedictio p'sul
Libri huius Nati aduentus[a] *tibi nam patris almi.*

[I.] Oñip̃s Ds̃. cvivs unigeniti adventum & praeteritum creditis & futurũ expectatis. eiusdemq: aduentus uos illustratione sua sc̃ific& & sua benedictione locupletet. Añi.

[a] The word *Advent* was formerly used to signify the day of the nativity of Christ; and the time which immediately preceded that day was styled *Ante Naticitatem*, or *Ante Natale Domini*: whence, in the Anglo-Saxon gospels, which have marked in them the different gospels for the several Sundays of the year, they say nothing of Advent, but mark the gospels for the fourth, third, second, and first Sunday before Midwinter; and Christmas Eve is called *Midwinter-Mass Even*: nor is Advent mentioned in the Leoniac Sacramentary. St. Æthelwold's Benedictional uses Advent to signify the time, and I have not seen in the English liturgy an earlier mention of the word in the sense here used. The division is the same as in the Saxon gospels, that is to say, into four weeks; and the Sundays are counted, as at present, the first, second, third, and fourth Sunday of Advent. In the Gelasian Sacramentary, Advent has five Sundays, and that which is furthest from the Nativity is called the fifth Sunday, which is the order observed in the Codex S. Eligii and some of the early Gregorian Sacramentaries: when it was reduced in the Roman Church to four Sundays does not exactly appear. The Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Gallican liturgies count six


NUNTIUS ECCLIO HIC STAT PREDICANDO MARIAE
ECCE DAPARIES HOMINEQ: SIMUL BENEDICTA
SCA MARIA

In presentis uitae stadio uos ab omni aduersitate defendat. & se uobis in iudicio placabilem ostendat. Amen.

Quo a cunctis peccatorum contagiis liberati. illius tremendi examinis diem expectetis interriti. Amn̄.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur. qui cum patre & sp̄u sc̄o uiuit & gloriatur dn̄. per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio dī patris. & filii. & sp̄s sc̄i. & pax dn̄i sit semper uobiscum. et cum sp̄u tuo.[b]

[Fol. 7.] *Item alia.*[c]

Aperi dn̄e ianuas caeli. & visita plebem tuam in pace. & mitte spn̄i tuum de alto. et irriga terram nr̄ām. ut germin& nobis spn̄alem fructum. Amen.

Sc̄ifica plebem tuam dn̄e. qui datus es nobis ex uirgine. & benedic hereditatem tuam in pace. Amn̄.

Praesta eis semper tempora salutis. quae ante tuum aduentum praedixit sc̄s propheta Ioannes. ut hic fideliter accipiant. & in futuro cum sc̄is & electis tuis uitā & regnum consequantur aeternum. Amen. Quod ipse praestare.

weeks in Advent. By the ecclesiastical laws of Cnute, ordeals and oaths were forbidden during Advent. Wilkins's Concil. tom. i. p. 503.

[b] This Benediction is the first among the *Benedictiones Pontificales de Tempore*, in the Pontificale Romanæ Ecclesiæ 1520, dedicated to Pope Leo X. fo. 237 b. It occurs also in the following printed works:—Liturgia Romana Vetus ex codice Othoboniano, edente Ludovico Antonio Muratorio, Venetiis 1748, tom. ii. 374, under *Benedictio in Adventu Domini*;—S. Gregorii Papæ Romani Benedictionale, Petri Lambecii Comment. de Biblioth. Cæs. lib. ii. cap. 5;—Liturgia Latinorum Jacobi Pamelii, &c., Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1571, in Sacramentorum libro, autore Grimoldo abbate, fo. 479, being the first among the *Benedictiones de Adventu Domini*;—Divi Gregorii Papæ Liber Sacramentorum ex Missali MS. Sancti Eligii Bibliothecæ Corbeiensis, &c., studio Fr. Hugonis Menardi, &c., Parisiis 1642, fo. 196, under *Hebdomeda IV. ante Nat. Domini*;—Opera S. Gregorii, tom. iii. Parisiis 1705, in the Benedictionum Episcopalium supplementum ex Codice pervetusto S. Theodorici prope Remos, fo. 636. It likewise occurs in the Missale Leofrici, Exoniensis Episcopi, MS. 2675, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, fol. 153 v.; and in the book called *Benedictionarius Roberti, Archiepiscopi*, MS. 27, in the public library at Rouen.

[c] This benediction occurs in Benedict. Episcop Suppl. ex codice S. Theodorici, Opera S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626.

[Fol. 7 v.] [II.] *Dominica secunda in aduentu dñi.*[d]

Dŝ cuius aduentvs incarnationis preteritus creditur. & iudicii uenturus expectatur. uos antequã ueniat expi& ab omni contagione delicti. Amen.

Prius in uobis deluat omne quod illa futura examinatione punituru est. ut cum iustus aduenerit iudex. non in uobis inueniat quod condempnet. Añi.

Quo ueniente non incurratis supplicium aeternum. sed remuneremini donariis sempiternis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 8.] *Item alia bened' eiusdem ebdomad'.*[e]

Excita dñe potentiã tuam & ueni ad saluationem populi tui. quem adquisisti sanguine tuo. Ne in eius proditione seuus ille exult& humani generis inimicus. quem aduentus tui potentiae dudum liberasti per gratiã. Añi.

Sit fortitudo dextere tuae ad protectionem huius familiae tuae. pro qua dignatus es hoc tempore carnem induere uirginalem. Amen.

Ut dum infirmitatem nrãm tua clementia non ignorat. ita omnem hanc ecclesiam tuam tuae diuinitatis clypeo protege. ut de saeui illius antiqui hostis tẽptatione nos liberes. & gentium feritates ita mitiges. ut nihil eorũ iacula tuorum possint generare dispendia. Amen.

Sed tu pastor bone qui tem& ipsũ nr̃i causa dedisti pro pretio. ita sanguinis tui defende commerciũ. ut & hic te semper sentiant preuium. et in aeterna beatitudine te remunerante mereantur accipere praemium. Amen.

Tu ergo omnipotens dñe Ihũ Xp̃e benedictionum rore perfunde. ut & in presenti uita positi. de omnibus inimicis te habeant ereptorem. & hic & in aeternum semper sentiant protectorẽ. Añi.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum. & imperium. sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dĩ patris. & filii. & sp̃s sc̃i. & pax dñi sit semper vobiscum.

[d] Pamel. fo. 479, in *Hebdomeda* iii. *ante Nat. Domini;* Suppl. Bened. Opera S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 636, ex cod. S. Theod. in *Dom. iii. ante Nat. Dom.;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[e] Pamel. 480; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 636. ex cod. S. Theod.

[Fol. 10. a. Letters, gold, red, and black, within a decorated [illegible]

[III. *Dominica tertia in Adventu.*[f]]

Oñips Ds. uos placido uultu respiciat. et in uos sue benedictionis donum infundat. Amen.

Ut qui hos dies incarnationis unigeniti sui fecit solemnes. a cunctis presentis & futurae uitae aduersitatibus uos reddat indempnes. Amen.

Ut qui de aduentu redemptoris nri secundum carnem deuota mente laetamini. in secundo cum in maiestate sua aduenerit. praemiis uitae aeternae ditemini. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 10. b.]

Item alia beñ.[g]

Dñs Ihc Xpc qui sacratissimo aduentu suo subuenire dignatus est mundo. animas uras corporaq: purific& a delicto. Amen.

D& uobis legis suae praecepta uirtute sps sci adprehendere. ut possitis aduentum eius interriti praestolari. Amen.

Sicq: uos ab omni reatu immunes efficiat. ut cum aduenerit non in terrore discutiat. sed in gloria remunerandos assumat. Añi.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 11.]

[IV.] *Benedictio Dominica. IIII.*[h]

Ds qui uos et prioris aduentus gratia reparauit. & in secundo daturum se uobis regnum cum scis angelis repromisit. aduentus sui uos inlustratione scific&. Amen.

Uincula ura dissoluat antequa ueniat. ut liberati a uinculis peccatorum. interriti tremendu eius expectetis aduentum. Añi.

[f] Pontif. Rom. fo. 237 b; Pamel. fo. 479; Lambec. fo. 31; Menard. fo. 198; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 636, ex Cod. S. Theod.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 153; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "incarnatione," "fecit," "venerit."

[g] Pontif. Rom. fo. 237 b, in *Secda Dominica de Adventu*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 636, ex cod. S. Theod.

[h] Pontif. Rom. fo. 237 b; Pamel. fo. 480; Menard. fo. 201, in *Dominica I. ante Nat. Dom.*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 637, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti Archiep.

Et quem uenisse in terris pro ūra salute creditis. uenturumq: ad iudicium sustinetis. eius aduentū inpauidi mereamini contueri.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 11v.] [V.] *Feria quarta in ieiunio.*[i]

Dē qui per tuum angelum nuntiasti Xp̄m uenturum in sc̄lo. praesta q̄s ut uenienti occurrere populus mereatur cum gaudio. Aūn.

Idem uos benedicat ante natiuitatem. qui suos benedixit ap̄los post passionem. Amen.

Tribuatq: ipse uobis ueniam peccatorum. qui pro salute humana fudit in cruce sanguinem proprium. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 12.] [VI.] *Fer'a vi. bened'.*

Dē qui est custos animarum & corporum. hanc familiam dignare brachii tui defensione protegere. Aūn.

Ut nullis antiqui hostis insidiis. corpora nr̄a fraude sua patiatur illudi. sed semper cum dn̄o nr̄o Ihū Xp̄o filio tuo maneamus inlesi. Amen.

Da huic familiae tuae fidei calorē. continentiae rigorem. fraternitatis amorem. abstinentiae virtutem. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 12v.] [VII.] *Sabb' in xii. lection'.*[k]

Benedicat uos omnipotens ds. & ad omnem recte obseruantiae plenitudinem auctor totius honestatis instituat. Amen.

Sit in uobis caritatis studium. modestia morum. innocentis uitae ingenium.

[i] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 637, *post Dom. I. ante Nat. Dom.* ex cod. S. Theod.

[k] Saturday in Ember week, in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months of the year, was called Sabbatum, in *xii. Lectionibus*, from the twelve readers of the six lessons read in Greek and Latin on this day: Anal. Fortun. in Bibl. Patr. tom. xiv. p. 967. For the Ember days, as regulated by Gregory the Great, for the English Church, see the Dialogus Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracae, Wilkins's Concil. tom. i. p. 85; and Concil. Cloveshoviense, ibid. p. 95. The Ecclesiastical laws of Alfred prescribed,—"*et quatuor dies Mercurii in quatuor septimanis jejunialibus, omnibus hominibus sunt remissi (exceptis servis et operariis) pro beneplacito cujuslibet.* Ibid. p. 194.

fidei augmentum. concordiae fundamentũ. continentia uirtutum. benignitas affectuum. Amen.

Et consequantur cum sc̃is premia. & ante dñi appareant cum iustitiae palma. & cum illo permaneant in gloria sempiterna.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 13.] [VIII.] *Benedictio in uigilia natalis d'ni.*[l]

Oñ̃ips Ds̃ qui incarnatione unigeniti sui mundi tenebras effugauit. & eius gloriosa Natiuitate hanc sacratissimam noctem inradiauit. effug& a uobis tenebras uitiorum. & inradi& corda ũra luce uirtutũ. Añ̃.

Quiq: eius sacratissimae natiuitatis gaudium magnum pastoribus ab angelo uoluit nuntiari. ipse super uos benedictionis suae gratissimum imbrem infundat. atq: ipso pastore uos ad aeternorum gaudiorum pascua aeterna perducat. Amen.

Et qui per eius incarnationem terrena caelestibus sociauit. internae pacis & bonae uoluntatis uos nectare repleat. & caelestis militiae consortes efficiat. Añ̃.

Quod.

[Fol. 13v.] *Item Bened' in Gallicantu.*[m]

Populum tuum q̃s dñe pro fauore prosequere. pro quo dignatus es in hac sacratissima nocte tuam mundo praesentiam exhibere. Añ̃.

A cunctis eum aduersitatibus paterna pietate custodi. pro quo mundo hoc in tempore dignatus es ex uirgine nasci. Añ̃.

Ut te redemptorem suum semper intelligat. & tuam ueraciter gratiam comprehendat. Añ̃.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in sc̃la sc̃lo⁊.

Benedictio dĩ patris.

[l] Muratori, fo. 362, ex cod. Othobon.; Pamel. fo. 481; Menard. fo. 4, in Vigilia Domini in nocte; Lambec. fo. 300; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, in cod. S. Theod.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 65 v. 8 kal. Jan. Vigil. Nativ. Christi de hora nona; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "effugiat."

[m] Pontif. Rom. fo. 238; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti Archiep. *ad missam in nocte*, "in mundo," "utinam." See Prudenti Carm. Hymnus ad Gallicinium, with the note, edit. 1788, Romae.

Item benedictio de Natale D'ni primo mane.[n]

[Fol. 14.] Dñ qui non solũ genus humanũ condere. sed etiam te nascente uoluisti hominem de terris ad astra transire. preces supplicum respice. qui te post longas tenebras hodie Natum lumen agnoscunt. Nobis in mundo dignatus es exhibere. Amen.

Complectere hunc populum in aecclesiae sinu. qui nobis processisti Mariae de thalamo. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cujus regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula sacculorum. Amen.

Benedictio dĩ patris. & filii. & sps̃ sc̃i. & pax eius sit semper uobiscum.

Et cum spũ tuo.

[Fol. 16, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[IX. *Benedictio in die Natalis Domini.*]

Benedicat[o] vos omp̃s dĩis uĩamque ad superna excit& intentionem. qui hunc sacratissimum diem Natiuitate filii sui fecit esse sollemnem. Amen.

[Fol. 16v.] Et qui eum qui panis est angelorũ. in praesepi ecclesiae cibum fecit esse fidelium animalium. ipse uos & in presenti seculo degustare faciat aeternorum dulcedinem gaudiorum. & in futuro perducat ad societatem aeternorũ praemiorum. Amen.

Quiq: eivs infantiam uilibus uoluit indui pannis. ipse uos caelestiũ uestimentorum induat ornamentis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[n] Pontif. Rom. fo. 238, *in aurora benedictio;* Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "ut," "aeternae visionis luce perfrui mereantur."

[o] Pontif. Rom. *ad majore' missas benedictio,* fo. 238 b; Muratori, fo. 3 b, ex codice Othobon.; Lambec. fo. 300; Pamel. fo. 481; Menard. fo. 7; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod. Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "*seculo* omitted" "*indui uoluit pannis,*" "*indumentorum*"; Missale Leofrici, fo. 68, Nativ. Christi. Theodosius the younger, in his laws *de Spectaculis,* promulgated in 425, forbade shews or games *die Natali Domini;* as well as on the Epiphany, and days of Easter and Penticost. In the Leonine Sacramentary, Christmas Day is celebrated on the 25th December, "VIII. Kalendas Januarii. Natale Domini." The custom of saying three masses on this festival is mentioned by S. Gregory in Evang. Homil. Op. S. Greg. tom. i. fo. 1460.

[Fol. 17.]

Item alia Benedictio de Natale D'ni.

Dē qui genus humanū uulneratum in protoplasto nouo recuperasti antidoto cum te astra non capiunt. habitasti mulieris in utero. Aṁ.

Respice populum tuum de excelso habitaculo tuo. pro cuius redēptione dignatus es nasci in mundo. & nobis processisti Mariae de thalamo. Amen.

Ut pietate sedula in te sit salus hominum. propter quos homo factus es creator angelorum. & de poenis infernalibus recuperator animarum. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 18, in capital letters of gold within a decorated arch.]

[X.] *In natal' S'ci Stephani. Proto martyris. Ben'd'.*[p]

Dē qui beatum Stephanum Proto martyrem coronauit. Et confessione fidei et agone martyrii. mentes uṁas circumdet in praesenti seculo corona iustitię. & in futuro perducat uos ad coronam gloriae. Amen.

[Fol. 18b.]

Illius obtentu tribuat uobis dī & proximi caritate semper exuberare. qui hanc studuit inter lapidantium impetus obtinere. Aṁ.

Quo exemplis eius roborati. & intercessione muniti. ab eo quem ille a dextris dī uidit stantem. mereamini benedici. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

Item alia Benedictio de S'c'o Stephano.[q]

Aperi quesumus dne caelos tuos. aperi oculos nros. Inde nobis tua dona descendant. hinc te corda nra respiciant. Amen.

Pateat nobis sedes tua in accipiendis beneficiis quae praecamur. pateat tibi mens nra in reddendis seruitiis quae iubemur. Aṁ.

Habeat sc̄m tuum Stephanum pius iste populus patronum. quem &iam ille habuit impius aduotum. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[p] Pontif. Rom. fo. 238 b; Muratori, fo. 363, ex codice Othobon.; Lambec. fo. 300; Pamel. fo. 482; Menard, fo. 9; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 158. See Lucian De Inventione et Transl. S. Stephani, c. 8-9. This Saint's festival is not in the Leonine Sacramentary. In the Gelasian Sacramentary occurs *In nat. Sancti Stephani, Martyr. VII. kal. Januarias.*

[q] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod.

[Fol. 20, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[Fol. 20v.]

[XI. *In nativitate S. Johannis evangelistae.*[r]]

Omp̃s Dš dignetur uobis per intercessionē Beati Johannis apſti & euangelistae benedicere. qui per eum archana uerbi sui uoluit ecclesiae reuelare. Amen.

Concedat uobis ut quod ille sp̃s sc̃i munere afflatus uŕis auribus infudit. eiusdem sp̃s dona capere mente ualeatis. Amen.

Quo ejus documento de diuinitate nŕi redemptoris edocti. & amando quod tradidit. & praedicando quod docuit. & exequendo quod iussit. ad dona peruenire mereamini. quae idem Iħc Xp̃c dñs nŕ repromisit. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum.

Item de S'c'o Johanne.[rr]

[Fol. 21, in gold and red letters within a trefoil-headed arch highly decorated.]

[Fol. 21v.]

[XII. *Benedictio in Nativitate SS. Innocentium*[s].]

Omp̃s dš pro cuius unigeniti ueneranda infantia innocentū cateruas Herodis funeste peremit saeuitia. suae uobis benedictionis tribuat dona gratissima. Amen.

Et qui eis concessit unicum filium eius dñm nŕm. Non loquendo sed moriendo confiterentur. concedat uobis ut fidem ueram. quam lingua nŕa fatetur. etiam mores probi. & uita inculpabilis fateatur. Amen.

Quiq: eos primitiuum fructum sc̃ae suae suscepit aecclae. cum fructu bonorum operum uos faciat peruenire ad gaudia aeternae patriae. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[r] Pontif. Rom. fo. 238 b; Muratori, fo. 363, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. fo. 301; Pamel. fo. 482; Menard, fo. 10; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 159. 6 Kal. Jan. This festival occurs both in the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries: in the latter, *In Natal. Sancti Johan. Evangel. VI. kal. Januarias.*

[rr] This title occurs at the foot of fol. 20, and the next leaf with the benediction, which probably had a miniature of the Holy Innocents on the verso, is wanting.

[s] Pontif. Rom. fo. 236 b: Muratori, fo. 364, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. fo. 301; Pamel. fo. 483; Menard, fo. 12; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Herodes funestus," "ut"; Missale Leofrici, 160 v. This festival occurs in the Leonine Sacramentary; and in the Gelasian, *In Natal. Innocent. V. kal. Januar.*

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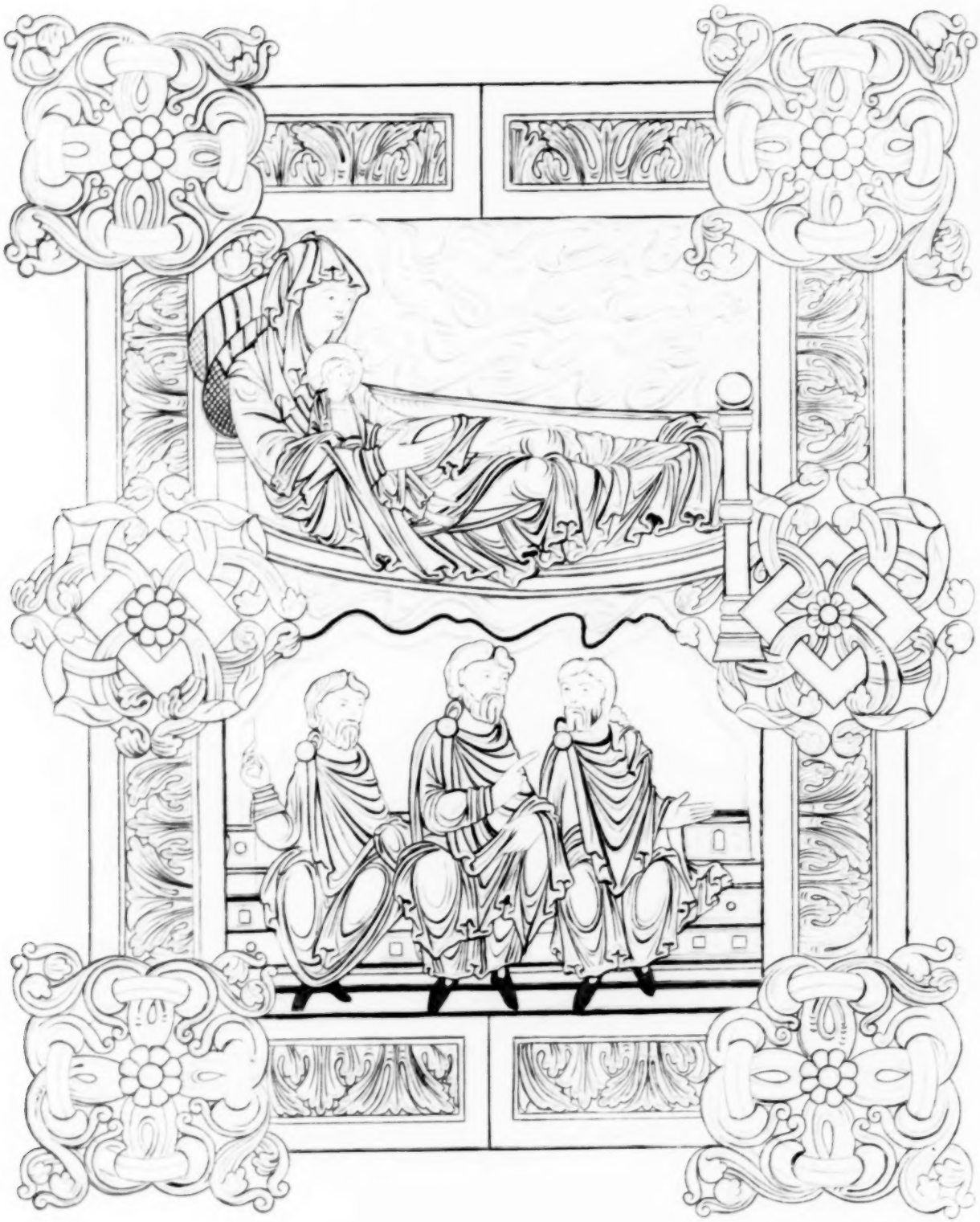


[Fol.21v.] *Item de eiusdem.*[t]

Concede qs̃ dñe plebi tuae innocentum graṁ. qui tibi consecrasti primitias martyrum ab innocentia paruulorum. Aṁ.

Seruetur hic populus purgatus baptismate. qui tibi placitam fecisti innocentiam in cruore. Aṁ.

Et illuc eorum interuentu grex accedat post lauacrum. ubi felices paruuli perfusi rore sanguinis gloriantur inperpetuum. Aṁ.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 23, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.] [XIII. *Benedictio in octavis nativitatis Domini.*[u]]

Omp̃s Ds̃ cuivs unigenitus hodierna die. ne legem soluer& quam adimplere uenerat. corporalem suscepit circumcisionem. spiritali circumcisione mentes uṙas ab omnib: uitiorum incentiuis expurg&. & suam in uos benedictionem infundat. Amen.

[Fol.23v.] Et qui legem per moysen dedit. ut per mediatorem nostrum benedictionem dar&. exuat uos mortificatione uitiorum. & faciat perseuerare in nouitate uirtutum. Amen.

Quo sic in senarii numeri perfectione in hoc saeculo uiuatis. & in septenario numero inter beatorum spirituum agmina requiescatis. quatinus in octauo resurrectione renouati. iubelei remissione ditati. ad gaudia sine fine mansura perueniatis. Amen.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur.

[Fol. 24.] [XIV.] *Dom'c. I. Post natalem d'ni.*[x]

Ds̃ qui unigenitũ suum misit ut mundum saluar&. eiusdẽ salutis uos participes efficiat. et in ea perseuerabiles reddat. Amen.

Iram quae sup infideles manet a uobis amoueat. & ab ea uos in perpetuũ liberos efficiat. Aṁ.

[t] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 626, ex cod. S. Theod.

[u] Pontif. Rom. fo. 359; Muratori, fo. 364, ex codice Othobon.; Pamel. fo. 483; Menard, fo. 13, *in octavis Domini*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Septenarii," "octava" Missale Leofrici, fo. 70.

[x] Pontif. Rom. 238 b, "misit in terris;" Pamel. fo. 483; Menard, fo. 14; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, ex codice S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "in mundum ut cum."

Spñi filii sui uobis attribuat. eiusq: donis uos affatim exuberare concedat. Añi. Quod.

[Fol. 25 v.] [XV.] *Bened' in die Theoph'.*[y]

Dñ[z] lumen uerũ qui unigenitum suum hodierna die stella duce gentib: uoluit reuelari. sua uos dignetur benedictione ditare. Añi.

Quo exemplo magõrum mystica Dño Ihu Xpo munera offerentes. spreto antiquo hoste. spretisq: contagiis uitiorum. ad aeternã patriam redire ualeatis per uiam uirtutum. Amen.

Detq: uobis ueram mentium innocentiam. qui super unigenitũ suũ spñi sc̃m demonstrari uoluit per columbam. eaq: uirtute mentes uŕae exerceantur ad intellegenda diuinae legis archana. quam Chana Galilaeae limpha est in uinum conuersa. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 26.] *Item Bened' in die Theoph'.*[a]

Dñ qui presentem diem ita dignatus es eligere. & ut cum eligeres tot miraculis demonstrare. in quo ad te ad orandum stella noua magos perduxit. & iordanis tuo baptismo sc̃ificari meruit. Nec non & aquae pallor in Chana Galilaeae uinum produxit. esto qs̃ tuę familiae. ipse lux itineris. qui stella indice clarificatus es rex salutis. Añi.

Da plebi tuae redemptoris sui plenũ cognoscere fulgorem. ut per eius incrementa ad perpetuam claritatẽ perueniat. Amen.

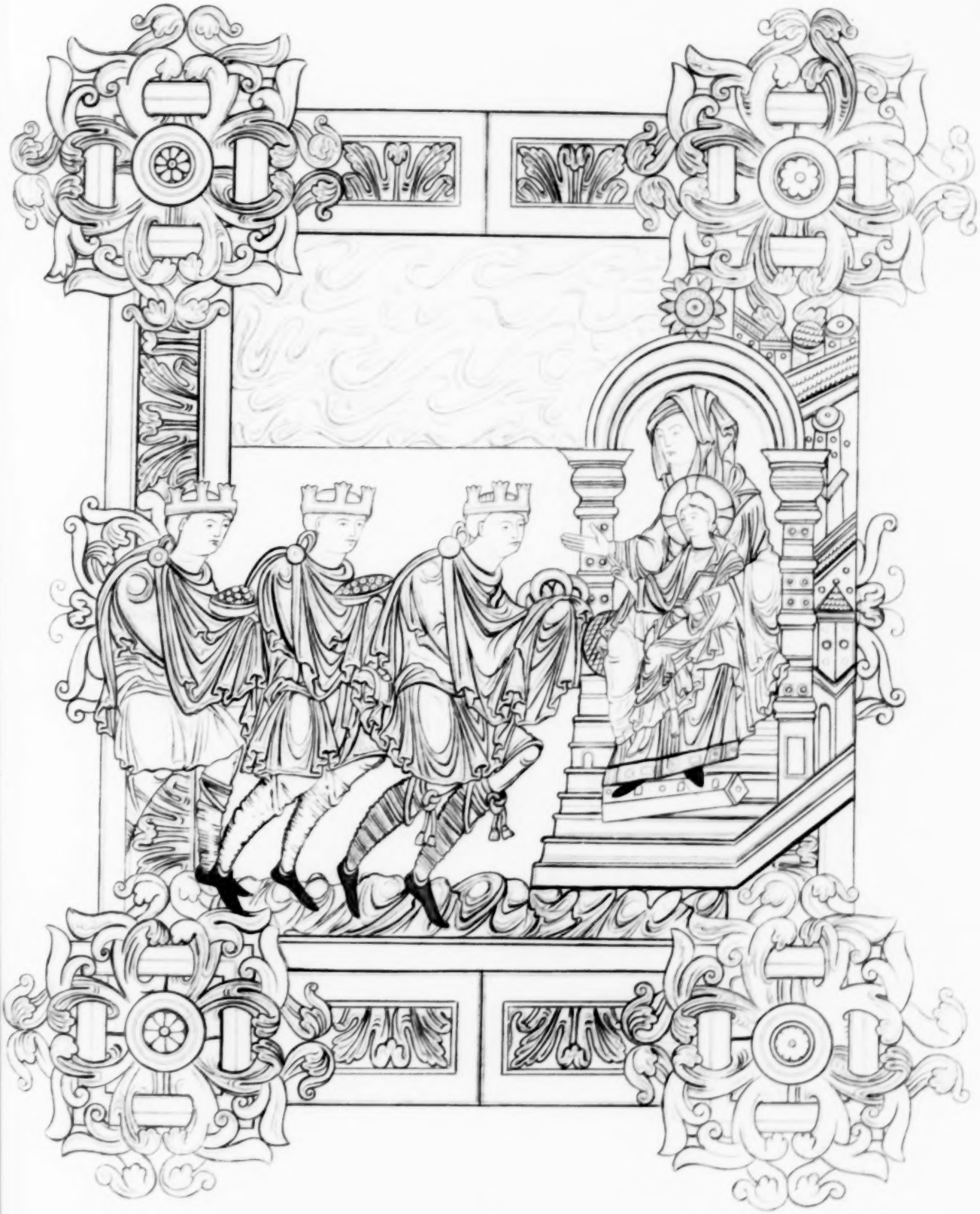
Et qui dignatus est hodie ad iordanis fontem fons aquae uiuae descendere. & tuo baptismate sc̃ificare. tribue populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere. & splendore gratiae tuae semper accendae. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[y] Theophaniæ, id est, *Dei apparitio*, vulgo Epiphania.

[z] Pontif. Rom. fo. 239; Muratori, fo. 365, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. fo. 302; Pamel. fo. 484; Menard, fo. 16; Suppl. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom iii. fo. 627, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *Benedictio in Theophania Xri*, Missale Leofrici, fo. 71 v.

[a] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, *in oct. Epiphaniæ*. Compare the text with the form in the Missale Gothicum, Muratori, 541, *in vigiliis Epiphaniæ*.



[Fol. 26v.] [XVI.] *Dom'c. I. Post Theoph'.*[b]

Dš qui filii sui temporalem pueritiam fecit esse mirabilem. spũ prudentiae corda uřa illustrare ac docere dignetur. Añi.

Quiq: eum parentib: temporaliter subdi uoluit. ipse uos humilitatis & pietatis munerib: misericorditer informet. Amen.

Et qui eum sapientia. ætate. & gratia proficere tribuit. spũalium uobis profectuum incrementa propitius largiatur. Añi. Quod ipse.

[Fol. 27.] [XVII.] *Dom'c. II. post Theophaniam.*[c]

Dš qui sua mirabili potestate aquã vertit in uinum. uos a uetustate sub tractos in beatæ uitæ transferat nouitatem. Amen.

Et qui nuptiis interesse uoluit. ut earum sua præsentia comprobaret bonum. ipse uobis castitatis & sobrietatis perpetuae conferat donum. Amen.

Ipse etiam uobis sčarum intelligentiam scripturarum spũalem tribuat. qui aquas conuertendo in uinum hoc ipsum uoluit designare. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 27v.] [XVIII.] *Dom'c. III. Post Theophan'.*[d]

Omnp̃s dš uos ab omnium peccatorum maculis emund&. qui leprosum supplicem tactu proprio dignatus est emundare. Amen.

Quiq: centurionis seruum non aspernatus est uisitare. ipse cordium uřorum hospitium dignetur misericorditer introire. Amen.

Sicq: uos fidei suae plenitudine inform&. ut cum sčis suis in celorum regno accumbere concedat. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[b] Pontif. Rom. fo. 239; Pamel. fo. 484; Menard, fo. 17; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, *in Dom. ii. post Nat. Domini*, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[c] Pontif. Rom. 239; Pamel. 485; Menard, fo. 18; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 627, *in Dom. iii. post Nat. Domini*, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "scripturarum intelligentiam," "in vina convertendo."

[d] Pontif. Rom. 239 b.; Pamel. 485; Menard, fo. 25; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, *in Dom. iiii. post Nat. Dom.* ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[Fol. 28.] [XIX.] *Dom'c. IIII. Post Theophaniam.*[e]

Temptationum omnium a uobis dñs pericula remoueat. & perturbationū procellas miseratus excludat. Amen.

Temptatoris fraudes atq: molimina dissoluat. & uos aduersus eum cautos atq: inuincibiles faciat. Amen.

Continuae pacis uobis munera tribuat. & uos in portu tranquillitatis ac securitatis propitius custodiat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignet[r] cuius regnum & imperiū. sine [fine] perman& in sc̄la sc̄lor̄. Amen.

[Fol. 28v.] [XX.] *Dom'c. V. Post Theophaniam.*[f]

Ds qui bonum semen in sua ecclesia serere consueuit. in uobis illud conseruare atque multiplicare numquā desistat. Amen.

Zyzaniorum super seminatorē a uobis procul repellat. & sui uerbi pabulo uos indesinenter reficiat. Amen.

Quo cum dies iudicii aduenerit a reprobis separati. ad dexteram iudicis sistamini. & in beatissimo ipsius regno. collocemini. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignet[r] cuius regnum & imperiū sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 29.] [XXI.] *Dominica VI. Post Theophaniam.*[g]

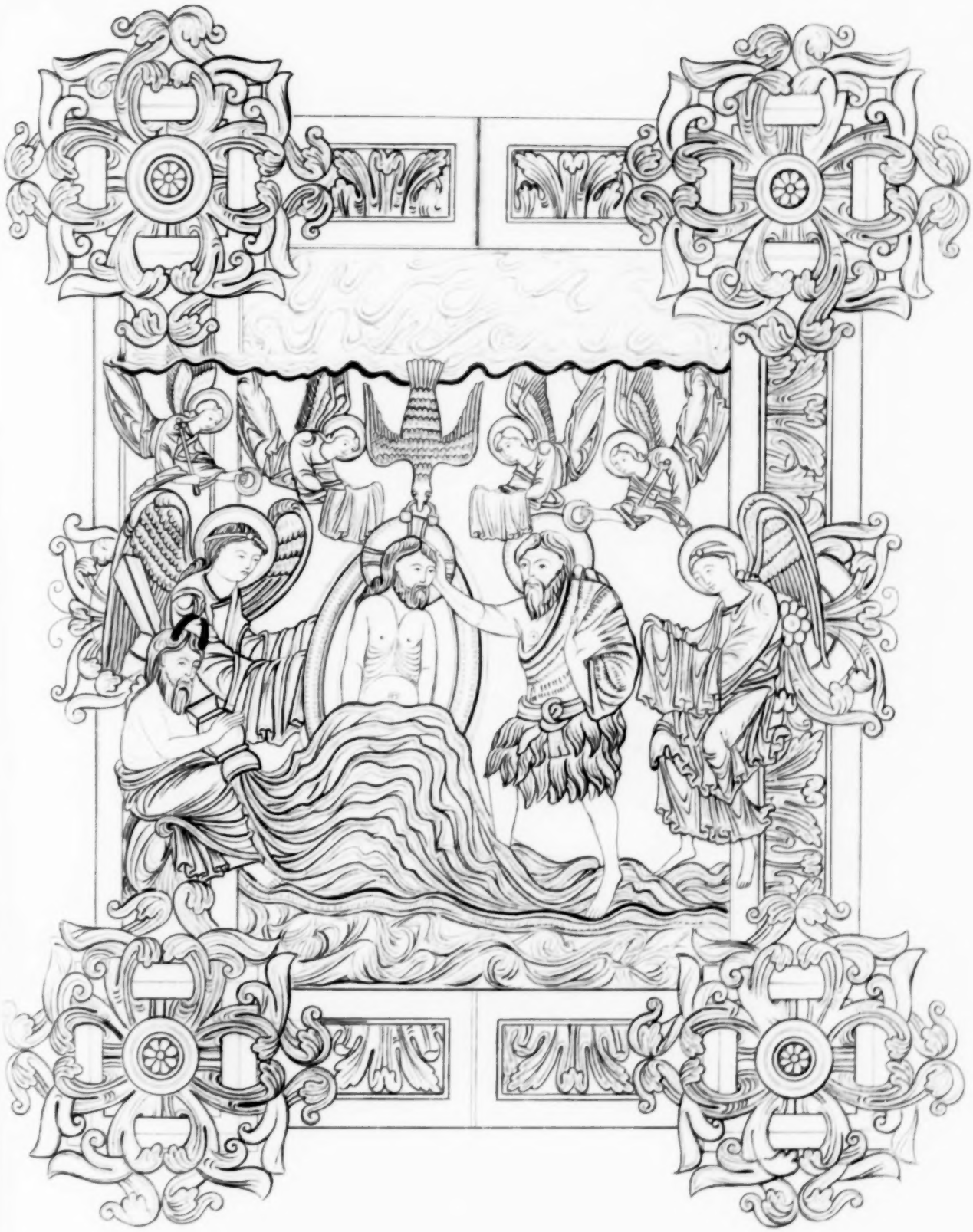
Ds qui mare suis pedibus fecit esse calcabile. uobis quicquid est noxium ipse substernat. Amen.

Contrarius inmundorum spirituum motus compescat. & uos in sua pace confirm&. Amen.

[e] Pontif. Rom. 239 b.; Pamel. 485; Menard, fo. 26; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628. *in Dom. V. post Nat. Dom.* ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "continua," "propitiatus constituit."

[f] Pontif. Rom. 239 b. "semen bonum in sua ecclesia non desinit serere;" Pamel. 486; Menard, 27; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, *in Dom. VI. post Nat. Dom.* ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[g] Pontif. Rom. 639 b.; Pamel. 486; Menard, 28; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, *in Dom. VII. post Nat. Dom.* ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "contrarios," "fluctibus," "gubernat."



Crucis suae nauim inter mundi fluctus gubern&. & in litus beatae perhennitatis perducat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio dī patris, & filii. & sp̄s sc̄i. & pax dñi sit semper uobiscum.

[Fol. 29v.] *Item alia Benedict' in dom'c. VI. P' Th'.*

Aspiciat et Benedicat uos dñs. ex omni parte custodiat rex aeternus. & det uobis angelum lucis. conseruet in uobis gratiam quam pfudit. Amen.

Mentem regat. uias dirigat. cogitationes sc̄as instruat. actus prob&. Amen.

Opera confirm&. uota perficiat praeterita indulgendo emendet. futura moderetur. Amen.

Sit manus dñi auxiliatrix uṡri. & brachium scṡi illius opituletur uobis.

Sit misericordia eius super uos. & pietas illius subsequatur uos. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saeculo saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio dī patris. & filii. & sp̄s sc̄i. & pax dñi sit semp uobiscum. Amen.

Fol. 30.] [XXII.] *Ben'd' in nat'l' s'c'i Sebastiani mar'.*[h]

Dṡ qui triumphantibus prote martyribus regiam caelestis aulę potentiae dextera pandis. quiq: prote dimicantes sic decoquis in corporeis crumnis. ut uelut aurū rutilans excipias in supernis. exaudi uota. praesentis populi tui. qui sc̄o martyri tuo Sebastiano in certamine uictoriā p̄stitisti. Aṁ.

Sit plena huic laetitia ecclesiae pro eius triumpho. obtineat ipsius passio ueniam pro delicto. & effunde super eos dona spūaliū uirtutum. ut nihil in eos inimicus aut uiolenter subripiat. aut fraude decipiat. Amen.

Et obtinente apud te beato martyre tuo Sebastiano. cuius hodie festa celebramus. per bonę conuersationis perseuerantiam. ad tuam mereamur pertingere gratiam. Aṁ.

Quod ipse praestare.

[h] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "veniam" omitted. St. Sebastian suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Dioclesian. The Leonine Sacramentary, being defective for the months of January, February, and March, does not contain the festival of this Saint. It occurs in the Gelasian, "*In Natal. SS. Martyrum Sebastiani, Mariæ, Martæ, Audifax, & Abacuc. XIII. kal. Februar.*

[Fol. 31.] [XXIII.] *Ben' in nat' S'c'ae Agnetis uirginis et mart'.*[i]

Benedicat vobis Dñs. qui Beatae Agnẽ uirgini concessit. & decorem uirginitatis. & gloriam passionis. Amen.

Et cuius opitulatione illa meruit & sexus fragilitatem & persequentium rabiem deuincere. uos possitis & uĩorum corporum in lecebras. & antiqui hostis machinamenta superare. Amen.

Quo sicut illa sexu fragili uirile nisa est certamen adire. & post certañ de hostib: triumphare. Ita uos in hac mortalitate uiuentes. ualeatis & antiquum hostem deuincere. & ad regna caelestia peruenire.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 31v.] [XXIV.] *Bend' in n'l' S'c'i Uincentii.*[k]

Benedicat uobis dñs celorum rector & conditor. & det uobis tranquillitatẽ temporum. salubritatem corporum. salutemq: animarum. Amen.

Tribuatq: uobis frugalitatis gaudium. interueniente beato uincentio martyre suo. aeternitatis premium. lumen clarissimum sempiternum. Amen.

Concedat uobis suae pietatis auxilium. ut eum cogitatione mens uideat. lingua uoce proferat. actio non offendat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 32.] [XXV.] *Bend' in conuersione S'c'i Pauli.*[l]

Ds qui gratia sua beatum paulum ex persecutore fecit apostolum. ipse uobis conpunctionis piaeq: conuersionis dignetur impertire spñ. Amen.

[i] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. In the Pontif. Rom. the benedictions for feasts of Saints follow the moveable feasts; and the benediction for the feast of St. Agnes differs from our MS. It does not occur in the other works cited. Gelas. Sacram. *In natal. S. Agnetis Virginis de passione sua, XII. kal. Februarias.* This Saint suffered according to some authorities under Valerius and Gallienus, according to others under the Emperor Dioclesian. See XIV. Hymnus, *Passio S. Agnetis Virginis*, Prudenti Carmin. p. 1213.

[k] The benediction for the feast of St. Vincent in the Roman Pontifical is different, and it does not occur in the other works. This Saint, whose festival is not named in the Gelasian Sacramentary, was put to death under the edicts of Dioclesian and Maximin. See V. Hymnus, *Passio S. Vincentii Martyris*, Prudenti Carm. p. 984.

[l] Pontif. Rom. 247, "per gratiam suam;" Menard, 22; Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. 637.

Quiq: ei secretorum caelestium mysteria dignatus est reuelare. ipse uobis scripturarum suarum abdita dignetur aperire. Amen.

Ut qui ei perseuerantiam fidei constantiamq: in persecutionibus inflexibilem dare dignatus. c̃. eiusdē interuentionib: uſram infirmitatem. donis spũalibus roborare atq: munire dignetur. Añi.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 32 v.] *Bened' in natiuitate S'c'ae Agnetis uirginis.*[m]

Benedicat uobis dš nři oris alloquio & cor uřm sinceri amoris copul& nexu perpetuo. Amen.

Floreatis rerum presentium copiis. iustitia adquisitis. gaudeatis perhenniter fructibus sincerissimae caritatis. Amen.

Tribuat uobis dš dona perhennia interueniente beata Agne. uirgine sua. & post tempora feliciter dilatata. percipiatis gaudia sempiterna. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in scła sctorum.

[Fol. 33.] [XXVI.] *Oratio super candel' in purification' S. Mar'.*[n]

Dñe iħu xp̃e creator coeli & terrae. rex regum & dñis dominantium. exaudi nos indignos famulos tuos clamantes & orantes ad te. praecamur te dñe omp̃s aeterne dš. qui omnia ex nihilo creasti. & iussu tuo opere apum hanc ceram uel hunc liquorem uenire fecisti. & qui hodierna die petitionem iusti Symeonis implesti. te humiliter deprecamur. ut has candelas ad usus hominum & animarum sive in terra. siue in aquis. per inuocationem sc̃issimi tui nominis & per intercessionem sc̃ae Mariae genitricis tuae cuius hodie festa colimus. per precesq: omnium sc̃orum. benedicere & sc̃ificare digneris. ut omnis haec plebs

637. ex cod. S. Theod ; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *In Conversione Doctoris Gentiu' S'c'i.* "dignatus est" omitted. This festival does not occur in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

[m] *Item in natale ejusdem. De Natiuitate V. Kal. Febr.* Sacram. Gelas. 639.

[n] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. The festival of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin was celebrated in the time of St. Gregory of Nyssa, as is shewn by Menard, p. 41. See the notes of Baronius to his Martyrology in Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Ritib. lib. iv. cap. 15 ; and Benedict. XIV. *de dominicis & festis D. N. Jesu Christi B. Mariæ Virginis, et quorumdam Sanctorum,* oper. tom. x. ed. Roman. lib. ii. cap. 2. In the Gelasian Sacramentary occurs *Orat. in Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ ;* and in Bede's Martyrology, *Hypopante Domini.*

tua illas honorificae in manibus portantes cantando teq: laudando. tu exaudies uoces illius de caelo sc̃o tuo. & de sede maiestatis tuae propititiusq: sis omnib: clamantib: ad te. quos redimisti pretio sanguinis tui. qui cum patre. & sp̃u sc̃o uiuis & regnas dš. per omnia saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 35, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

(Benedictio in purificatione Sanctae Mariae.[o]*)*

Omp̃s Dš qvi vnigenitv̄ suum hodierna die in assumpta carne in templo uoluit praesentari. benedictionis suae uos munere. fultos bonis operibus faciat exornari. Amen.

Quiq: eum ut legem adimpler& ministrum uoluit effici legis. mentes ur̄as instruat legis suae spiritalibus documentis. Am̄.

Quo ei & pro turturib: castitatis munera offerre ualeatis. & pro pullis columbarum sp̃s sc̃i donis exuberetis. Am̄.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 35 v.]

[XXVII.] *Ben' in n'l' s'c'ae Agathe uir'.*[p]

Sc̃ifica Dñe ecclesiam tuam qui Beatam Agathen uirginem & martyrem adquisisti fide. honorasti pudore. glorificasti certamine. Amen.

Repleatur hic populus illo sp̃u. qui martyri tuae affuit Agathae. cum eam ignis torrer&. cum ungula rader&. cum aculeus infiger&. cum mamilla torquer&. Amen.

Ut dum se sibi pro tuo amore abnegat. tua collocetur in dextera. cuius est electione uocata in gloriam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 36.]

[XXVIII.] *In n'l' S'c'i Uedasti. Conf.'*[q]

Dš fundator fidei. & indultor sacerdotũ congregatio plebis. sc̃ificatio confes-

[o] Pontif. Rom. 247; Lambec. 302; Pamel. 486; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 665; Menard. 24; Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "munera castitatis"; Missale Leofrici, fo. 76 v.

[p] Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 637; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. St. Agatha received the crown of martyrdom during the persecution of Decius in the year 251. In the Gelasian Sacramentary occurs, *In natal' Sanctae Agathae, Non. Februar.*

[q] In the cod. S. Theoderici, Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 640, occurs *Benedictio in nat. SS. Remigij, Germani, Vedaste, & Bavonis.* It is different from our benediction. See in Lambec. 403, *Hymnus de Sancto Vedasto.* This Saint, who was Bishop of Arras, died in 539. His name does

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soris. qui beatum Uedastum ad hoc armasti uirtute. ut tibi militar& in fide. concede huic familiae tuae pro se hunc intercessorem. quem dedisti pontificem. Amen.

Sit apud te nunc pro nobis assiduus. intercessor. qui contra hereticos. pro te extitit tunc assertor. Amen.

Ut te retribuente populus crescat in numero. pro quo sacerdos sudauit in fide. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 36 v.]

[XXIX.] *Ben'. in cathedra S'c'i Petri.*[r]

Dñ qui beatum Petrum apostolum tuũ ita reddidisti praecipuum. ut sortiretur inter ipsos fidei principes principatum. & accepta potestate principis in scto. caeli fier& ianitor. ut quos uult intromittat ciues in regno. respice plebem tuam pietate solita. qui sacro sc̃o ap̃lo gressum firmasti per lubrica. & culpas abluisti per lamenta. Amen.

Obtineat apud te ueniam pro corrigendis delictis. qui claudo fuit medela pro dirigendis uestigiis. Aũ.

Ut ipso intercedente & te remunerante. illuc sibi greges commissos introducat per ueniam. quo pastor idemq: ianitor. tecum remuneratus exultat in gloriam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 37.]

[XXX.] *Ben'd' in n'l' S'c'i Gregorii Papae.*[s]

Dñ qui beatum Gregorium praesulem tuum tanta familiaritate tibi iunxisti.

not occur in the Gelasian Sacramentary. Butler, in his Lives of Saints, says that our ancestors had a particular devotion for St. Vedast, whom they called St. Foster.

[r] Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 637, ex cod. S. Theod. : Bened. Roberti, Archiep. This festival is not found in the Gelasian Sacramentary; but it was kept in France in the sixth century, as appears from Canon 22 of the Council of Tours. See Menard. p. 46.

[s] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. Gregory the Great, whose festival is kept on the twelfth of March, died in 604. See de obitu Papæ Gregorii, Bed. lib. ii. p. 75. XVII. De festivitate colendo Sancti Gregorii et Augustini.—Septimo decimo Constitutum est praecepto ut dies natalitius beati Papae Gregorii, et dies quoque depositionis qui est 7 Kal. Junii Sancti Augustini Archiepiscopi atque Confessoris, qui genti Anglorum Missus a praefato Papa, et patre nostro Gregorio, scientiam fidei, baptismi sacramentum, et caelestis patriae notitiam primus attulit, ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerentur. Ita ut uterque dies ab ecclesiasticis et monasterialibus feriatus habeatur, nomen que ejusdem beati patris et doctoris nostri Augustini, in litaniae decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii invocationem semper dicatur. Concil. Clovesh. Wilkins, tom. i. fo. 97.

ut etiam cū adhuc corpore habitar& in terris. iam tunc corde totus ess& in caelis. respice preces praesentis familiae. quae se gaudet tanti patroni sollempnia celebrare. Aūi.

Ualeat eius intercessione tibi illas petitiones effundere. quas eligis libenter implere. Amen.

Ut festiuitatem hanc uenisse in terris sentiant. quam uidere uotis in caelis exoptant. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 42 v.] [XXXI.] *Ben' in adnunt'. S'c'e Marie.*[t]

Dē qui cum te non capiant celi dignatus es in templo uteri uirginalis includi. da aecclesiae tuae custodem angelū. qui filium Mariae fide concipiente praedixit. Amen.

Sc̄ificetq: gregem tuum illa benedictio. quae sine semine humano. redemptorem nr̄m uirginis formauit in utero. Amen.

Ut te protegente exult& ecclesia de congregato populo. sicut Maria meruit gloriari de fructu pretioso. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 43.] [XXXII.] *In n'l' S'c'i Ambrosii.*[u]

Dñe Dē omnium gratiarum. respicere dignare omnem hunc populum tuum. qui in honore tuo diuinis famulatur officiis. Amen.

Et quicquid sc̄o confessori tuo Ambrosio hodierna die profuit ad beatitudinem. prosit huic ecclesiae ad exemplum. Amen.

Ut ipso intercedente. sit in eis fides recta. imitabilis forma. casta sobrietas. hospitalis caritas. sp̄ualis prudentia. alta sapientia. mens humilis. uita sublimis. Amen.

Ut cum ante tremendum iudicii diem. in conspectu tuo adstiterint. non dampnandam. sed mitem ex ore tuo audiant absolutionis sententiam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[t] Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 639, in Natali S. Mariæ; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. Lesley thinks that the Annunciation was not celebrated by a peculiar festival much before the beginning of the seventh century, ad Miss. Mozar. p. 83. In the Gelasian Sacramentary we have, "*In adnunciatione Sanctæ Mariæ Matris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, VIII. *Kal. Aprilis.*"

[u] St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, died in 397.

[Fol. 38 v.]

[XXXIII.] *Ben'd' in LXX.*[v]

Omp̃s dš. ita studium uŕi cursus dirigere dignetur. ut brauium uos aeternae uitae comprehendere faciat. **Amen.**

Et ita uos abstinentiae armis circumd&. ut nullis uitae huius onerib: a per uentione retard&.

Quiq: uos uineam suam uocare. uobisq: sc̃os operarios mittere dignatus est. ipse uos sua gratia dignetur excolere. ut denario uitae phennis remunerari non abnuat. Am̃.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 39.]

Item alia Ben'd'.[x]

Respice dn̄e de caelo & uide. & uisita uineam istam quam plantauit dextera tua. sp̃uales exhibeant fructus. & caelestes diligant actus. ut sine uitio in hoc sc̃lo transigant uitam. ut possint promereri perpetuam. Amen.

Fragilem solida. contritum releua. inualidum robora. ualidumque confirma. pietate alleua. caritate aedifica. castitate munda. sapientia inlumina. misericordia serua. Am̃.

Proficiant huic praecepta. fidei uigilantia. amoris tui perseuerantia morum temperantia. misericordiae prouidentia. actuum disciplina. Amen.

Ut post concessam miserationis indulgentiam. Non abicias eos a promissionis tuae munificentia. sed perducas adueniam. quos tibi adoptasti per gratiam. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 39 v.]

[XXXIV.] *Benedictio in Sexag'.*[y]

Det uobis Dn̄s nosse mysteria regni dī. qui iam dare dignatus est auditum uerbi sui. Am̃.

[v] Menard, 32. Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "stadium," "hujus vitæ," "operibis," "a perventione" omitted.

[x] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, ex cod. S. Theod.

[y] Menard, 33; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Omnipotens magna mysteria," "montes," "munificentiam tribuat."

Sicq: manus uĩas seminis sui copia repleat. ut in vobis illud sibi placite fructificare concedat. Amen.

Et ita uos ab omni temptatione muniat. quatinus triceni. sexageni atq: centeni fructus pro suae grãę distributione. & munificentia munerari faciat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 40.] *Item alia.*[z]

Aspiciat in uos rector aeternus. atq: conseru& in uobis gratiam quã profudit. Amen.

Mentem regat. uias dirigat. cogitationes scãs instruat. actus probet. opera confirmet. preterita indulgeat. presentia emendet. futura moderetur. Amen.

Sit manus dñi auxiliatrix uĩri. & brachium scñi illius opituletur uobis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[XXXV.] *Ben' in quinquag'.*[a]

Omp̃s Dš sua uos benedictione confirmet. & inminenti quadragesimali abstinentiae aptos efficiat. Amen.

Quiq: caeco supplicanti per diuinitatis substantiam lumen restituit. cecitatem uĩri cordis clementissimus ac benignus illustr&. Amen.

Quatinus uitiorum sordib: emundati. et caritatis ardore solidati. caelestem hereditatem percipere ualeatis inlesi. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 40 v.] [XXXVI.] *Fer'. IIII. in Quinquag'.*[b]

Benedic dñe hunc populum tuum fructib: bonis. & operibus benedictis. Añi.

Fac eos tali sobole germinare ut in paradysi tui permaneant dignitate. Amen.

Planta eos in sinu matris ecclesiae radicib: firmis. quo possint palatia regni intrare caelestis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignet.

[z] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 628.

[a] Menard, 34; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 629, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "potentiam," "inluminator abstergat et lucis suæ radiis mentes vestras benignus inlustret."

[b] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 629, ex cod. S. Theod.

[Fol. 41.] [XXXVII.] *Bened' in initio quadrag'.* [c]

Benedicat uos dñs iħs xp̄c. qui se a uobis uoluit benedici. & qui hoc quadragenario curriculo cuius hodie inchoatis exordium suo dedicauit ieiunio. uīm suscipiat ieiunium. omniq: uos repleat bono. Amen.

Det uobis integram fidem. & abstinentiam salubrem. ut nec caro escis deuicta luxuri&. nec mens afflicta degeneret. Amen.

Sed ita sit uobis sc̄ificatum in diuino timore ieiunium. ut uitiis pariter atq: corporib: abstinentiae frena imponatis. & toti semp ab infestationib: inimici maneatis inlaesi. & pax iugiter quieta permaneat in habitaculis uīris. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 41 v.] [XXXVIII.] *Dom'c I. in quadrag's.* [d]

Benedicat uobis omñps Dš. qui quadragenarium numerum in Moysi & Eliae necnon & mediatoris nr̄i ieiunio consecrauit. Amen.

Concedatq: uobis ita transigere praesentis uitae dispensationem. ut accepto a patre familias remunerationis denario. perueniatis ad peccatorum omnium remissionē. & gloriosam cum sc̄is omnib: resurrectionem. Añi.

Detq: uobis sp̄ualium uirtutū in uictricia arma. quibus exemplo dñi deuincere ualeatis antiqui hostis sagacissima temptamenta. Añi.

Quo non in solo pane sed in omni uerbo quod de ore ejus procedit sp̄ualem sumentes alimoniam per ieiuniorū obseruationem. & caeterorum bonorum operum exhibitionem percipere mereamini inmarcescibilem coronam. Añi.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 42.] [XXXIX.] *Dom'c. II. in quadrag's.* [e]

Benedic dñe populum tuum & deuotum respice. humilitatem uide. gemitus suscipe. dolentes paterna pietate iube consolari. Amen.

[c] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom iii. fo. 629.

[d] Pontif. Rom. 240; Lambec. 304, *in initio Quadragessimæ;* Pamel. 487; Muratori ex codice Othobon 366; Menard, fo. 37; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in initio Quadrag's* "vos dispensatione transigere," "Spiritalem," "ceterum," "gloriæ;" Missale Leofrici, fo. 83 v.

[e] Bened. Roberti, Archiep *in ieiuniis quatuor tempor.* "misericors," "ieiunantium que preces exaudire dignare dolentes," "benedictionis."

Prostratum alleua. dispersum congrega. adunatum conserua. esurientem ciba. sitientem pota. omnesq: simul caelestib: donis irriga. Aṁ.

Dele meis omnem peccati maculam. ut te gubernante ad gloriam perueniant sempiternam. Amen.

Humiliata tibi omnium capita. dexterae tuae benedictione sc̃ifica. ac benedicendo peccata relaxa. sc̃iq: sp̃s infunde carismata. Amen.

Ut sine ulla offensione maiestatis tuae praecepta adimpleant. & ad uitam aeternā te auxiliante pueniant. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 42 v.] *Item alia Bened'.*[f]

Respice pastor bone super hunc gregem. & tribue ut qui terrenis abstinent cibis. sp̃ualib: pascantur alimoniis. Amen.

Et quem diuinis reficere tribuis sacramentis. ab omnib: propitius peccatis. Amen.

Da eis sic indieb: ieiuniorum suā componere uitam. ut non inueniantur uoluntates eorum a tua uoluntate dissimiles. sed sint semper in omnib: tuis praeceptis obtemperantes. Aṁ.

Et ita omnem hanc familiam tuam benedictione sc̃ifica. ut eorum ieiunia oculis tuae pietatis sint semper accepta. & ad desideratum sc̃ae resurrectionis tuae diem. eos mundo corde & corpore pro tua pietate iubeas praesentari. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 43.] [XL.] *Dom'c. III. in quadr.*[g]

D̃s Fons indulgentię suscipiat propitius litationem abstinentię uŕę. Aṁ.

Impleat corda uŕa suarū delectationib: hostiarum. & det uobis posse suis parere praeceptis.

Ut quod non potestis carnali ex infirmitate perficere. ipsius gr̃ae ubertate mereamini adimplere. Aṁ. Quod.

[f] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 629; *Benedictio infra hebdomad'*, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *Benedictio ad missam in capite ieiunii,* "omnem hanc familiam tuā."

[g] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *de ieiunio,* "lamentationem abstinentiae v'rae." The benediction for the third Sunday in that MS. and in the Missale Leofrici begins "Om'p's D's ieiuniorum v'rorum victimas clementer accipiat," &c.

[Fol. 43 v.]

Item alia Benedic.[h]

Omp̃s Ds̃ ieiunii ceterarumq: uirtutum dedicator atq: amator. sua uos benedictione sc̃ific&. Amen.

Accendat in uobis piae deuotionis affectum. & prebeat supplicantibus suum benignus auditum. Amen.

Quatinus mentes uṕae sinceris purgatae ieiuniis. bonorum omnium exuberent incrementis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[XLI.] *Dom'c' IIII. in quadr'.*[i]

Ds̃ qui es custos animarum & corporum. dignare hanc familiam tuam brachio tuae defensionis protegere. ut nullis inimicorum antiquorum hostium insidiis corpora nr̃a patiatur inludi. sed semper cum dn̄o nr̃o ih̄u xp̃o filio tuo maneamus inlesi. Amen.

Da huic familiae tuae fidei calorem. abstinentiae uirtutem. Amen.

Et quicquid dicto facto cogitationib: peccauerunt. pietas ac benignitas clementiae tuae misericordiae resoluere. ac indulgere dignetur.

Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur: cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine permanet in sc̃la saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 44 v.]

[XLII.] *Item alia Ben'd' Dom'c' V. in quadrag'.*[k]

Benedicat uos omp̃s Ds̃. & ad omnem rectam obseruantiae plenitudinem totius honestatis auctor instituat. Amen.

[h] Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 366, *in dominica prima in Quadragesima;* Menard, fo. 42, *in Dom. II. in Quadragesima;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *Dominica secunda in XL.* "suū supplicantibus," "purificatae."

[i] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 629. *infra Hebdomad. post Dom. II. in Quadr.* ex cod. S. Theod. The form for this fourth Sunday in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, and the Missale Leofrici, begins, D's qui vos ad presentium quadragesimalium dierum, &c.

[k] Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 629, ex cod. S. Theod. *infra Hebdomad.* The form for this Sunday in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, and the Missale Leofrici, begins, Accendat in vobis D'n's D's vim sui amoris, &c.

Sit in uobis castitatis studium. modestia morum. innocentis uitae sinceritas. fidei integritas. concordiae caritas. continentiae uirtus. benignitatis effectus. Aṁ.

Ad te oculos tendant. de te caelestia sumant. ut te uotis expectent. se claris actib: ornent. Amen.

Et consequenter cum sc̃is premia horum & multorum probitate consecuti. referamus Dō gratias praesentium bonorum. & aeternorum munerum largitori. Aṁ.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 46. in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[XLIII. *Benedictio in ramis palmarum.*[l]]

Benedicat vos omp̃s Ds̃ cvi ieiuniorum maceratione & praesentium dierum obseruantia placere studetis. Amen.

[Fol. 46 v.]

Concedatq: uobis ut sicut ei cum ramis palmarum ceterarumue frondium presentari studuistis. ita cum palma uictoriae. & fructu bonorum operum ei post obitum apparere ualeatis. Aṁ.

Quiq: unigeniti filii eius passionē puro corde creditis. mente deuota uenerari studetis ad resurrectionis eius festa. & uīae remunerationis praemia illius fulti munimine ueniatis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium.

[Fol. 47.]

[XLIV.] *Item alia Ben'd' in Passione d'ni.*[m]

Omnipotens ds̃ qui unigeniti sui passione tribuit uobis humilitatis exemplum. concedat uobis per eandem humilitatem percipere suae benedictionis ineffabile donum. Amen.

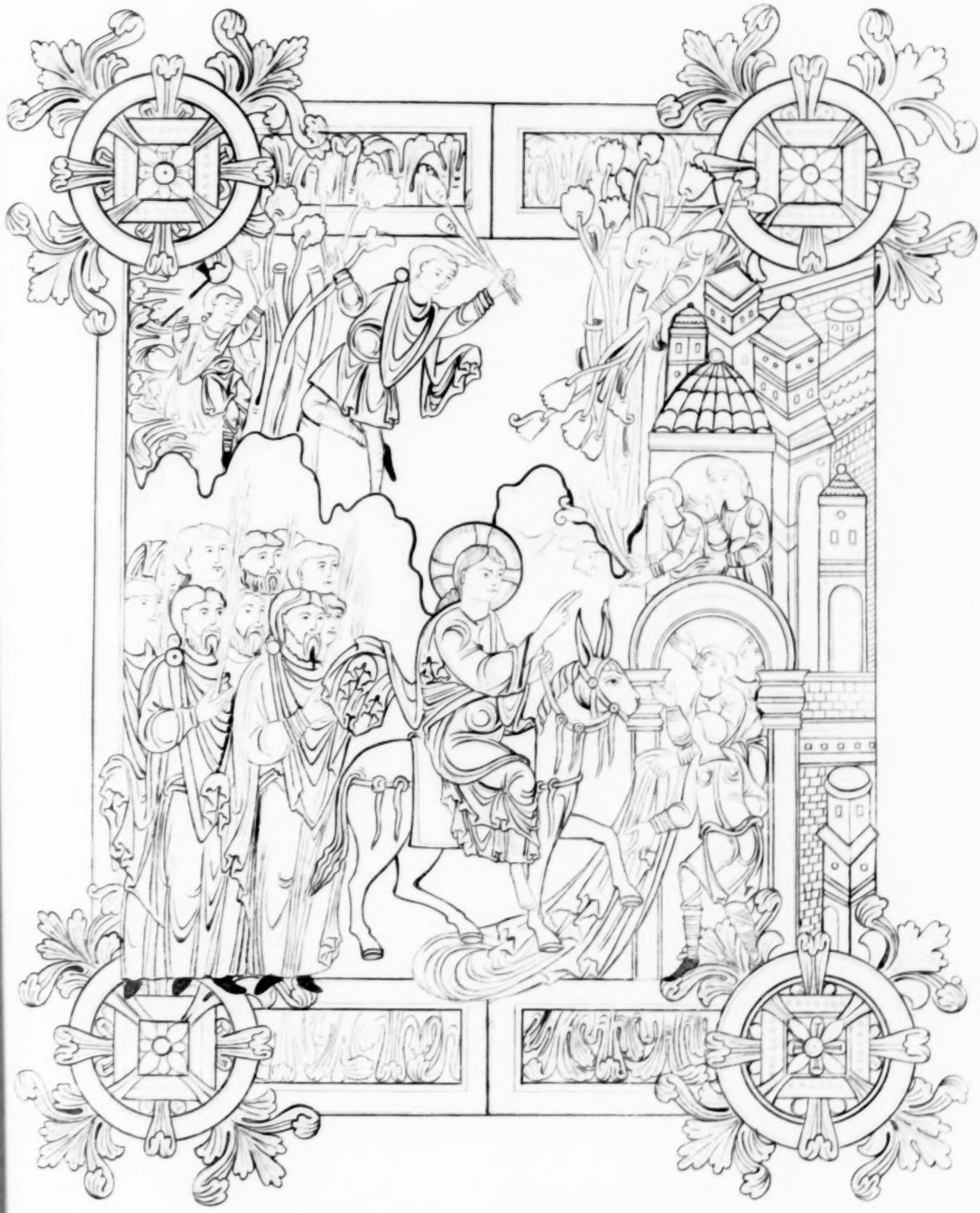
Ipsius resurrectionis percipiatis consortia. cuius patientiae ueneramini documenta. Aṁ.

Quo ab eo sempiternae uitae munus percipiatis. per cuius temporalem mortem. aeternam uos euadere creditis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[l] Pontif. Rom. 241; Lambec. 305; Pamel. 489; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 368; Menard, fo. 39; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "observatione"; Missale Leofrici, fol. 102.

[m] Lambec. 305; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 368; Pamel. 489; Menard, fo. 64, *in feria iiii post palmas*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "ipse," "ualeatis."



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Item alia.[n]

Adesto omniips dñs huic populo tuo uerbis hodie mysticis informato. ut fiat illis illuminatio mentis & reparatio cordis in perpetuum. Amen.

Proficiat eis in lapsa benedictio tua plenius ad salutem. quod hac sacris mysteriis tuis susceperunt in aures. Amen.

Sis illis protector & dñs in aeternū sicut fuisti israheliticis tuis praemonente Moyse in subsidium. & aegyptiis in exterminium. ut non praemerentur oneroso seruitio. Amn.

Et ne ulterius grauentur mole peccaminū. dignare circa eos diuinum inpertire praesidium ut tibi famulari ualeant in aeternum. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 48.] *Item alia.*

Dñs qui pro salute mundi uerbum caro factus es & habitasti totus in nobis. qui post caenę mysterium traditori perfido pium dedisti osculum. dum pro uita hominum pius uoluisti agnus occidi. respice uota supplicum qui tua charismata fideliter amplectuntur. Amn.

Da illis toto corde te colere. se cauere. te semper diligere. se munire. Amen.

Adsis protector aecclesiae. qui pro nobis passus es iniurias synagogae. Amen.

Ut te gubernante ad caelos patri praesententur inlesi. pro quib: ipse terras dignatus es illustrare. Amn. Quod ipse.

[Fol. 48 v.] [XLV.] *Ben'd' in caena d'ni.*[o]

Benedicat uos dñs qui p unigeniti filii sui passionem uetus pascha in nouum uoluit conuerti. Amen.

[n] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 630, ex cod. S. Theod. *in aurium apertione. post Dom. IV. in quadrag.*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *sabbato in ieiuniis in quatuor temp.* "ieiuniis hodie sacris," "inluminatio," from "in perpetuum" down to "sis illis" omitted, "tuis" omitted, "moysem subsidio," "exterminio."

[o] Pontif. Rom. 241; Lambec. 306; Pamel. 489; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 368; Menard. 66; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. The benediction follows the *consecratio crismatis et olei,* "a sordibus"; Missale Leofrici, 105 v.

Concedatq: uobis ut expurgato ueteris fermenti contagio. noua in nobis perseuer& conspersio. Amen.

Et qui ad celebrandam redemptoris nr̃i caenam mente deuota conuenistis. aeternarum dapiũ uobiscum epulas reportetis. Aũ.

Ipsius quoq: opitulante clementia mundemini a sordib: peccatorum. qui ad insinuandum humilitatis exemplum pedes uoluit lauare discipulorum. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignet̃.

[Fol. 49.]

Item alia.

Benedic qs̃ Dñe uniuersum hunc populum. ad caene conuiuium euocatum. Amen.

Protege eum tuae scuto defensionis. pro quo dignatus es obprobria sustinere passionis. Aũ.

Defende eum a diri serpentis incursibus. atq: a cunctis absolue sordib: qui in hac die pedes discipulorum humiliata maiestate propriis lauasti manib: Aũ.

Benedicat uos oñiip̃s Ds̃ qui in hac die cum discipulis suis caenans. panem in corpus suum. calicemq: benedicens consecrauit in sanguinem. Amen.

Ipseq: uos faciat pura conscientia mundaq: ab omni sorde peccati. imminentem paschae sollemnitatem cum exultatione placita sibi celebrare. qui cum discipulis discumbens. desiderio in quid desideraui hoc pascha manducare uobiscum. Amen.

Ipse mentem uŕam sc̃ific&. & uitã amplific&. castimoniam decor& atq: sensus uŕos in bonis operib: semper aedefic&. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare digñtur.

[Fol. 50.]

[XLVI.] *Benedictio in Sabbato S'c'o Paschae.*[p]

Ds̃ qui ecclesiae suae intemerato utero nouos populos producens. eã uirginitate manente. noua semper prole fecundat. fidei. spei. & caritatis uos munere repleat. & suae in uobis benedictionis dona infundat. Amen.

Et qui hanc sacratissimam noctem redemptoris nr̃i resurrectione uoluit inlustrare. mentes uŕas peccatorum tenebris mundatas. uirtutum copiis faciat coruscare. Amen.

p Pontif. Rom. 24; Lambec. 306; Pamel. 490; Muratori, ex Cod. Othobon. 369; Menard, fo. 75; Missale Leofrici, fol. 115.

Quo eorum qui modo renati sunt innocentiam imitari certetis. & uascula mentium uīarum exemplo praesentium munerum inlustretis. Amen.

Ut cum bonorum operum lampadib: ad huius sponsi thalamum cuius resurrectionem celebratis. cum prudentibus uirginib: intrare possitis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 50v.]

Item alia.[9]

Dſ qui mortem nīam. ingressus inferni tartara in hac nocte deuicisti uirtute diuina. suscipe propitius familiae tuae preces humillimas uoto sincere mentis oblatas. Amen.

Et quos ueterib: maculis baptismatis emundauit unda sacrata. per lauacrum tuae protectionis auxilio pergati. tales ante te praesententur in iudiciū. quales nunc processerunt ex baptismo. Amen.

Et qui te miserante reuocati sunt in paradyso perenne peccato. non patiaris exules fieri renascente commisso. Amen.

Et qui te semel agnouit principē uniuersitatis & dnīn. numquā inuasis sensib: in se tyrannizantem sentiant inimicum. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 52, in capital letters of gold, with a quadrangular foliated border highly decorated]

[XLVII. *Benedictio in die sancto Paschae.*[1]]

Benedicat vos omnīs dſ hodierna interueniente pascali sollempnitate. & ab omni miseratus dignetur defendere prauitate. Amen.

Et qui ad aeternam uitam in unigeniti sui resurrectione uos reparat. in ipsius aduentu immortalitatis uos gaudiis uestiat. Amen.

Et qui expletis ieiuniorum siue passionis dominicae dieb: paschalis festi gaudia caelebratis. ad ea festa quae non sunt annua sed continua ipso opitulante exultantib: animis ueniatis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium sine fine permanē in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

9 Bened. Roberti Archiep.

1 Pontif. Rom. 241 b.; Lambec. 306; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 369; Pamel. 490; Menard, 75; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 630, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 116, *In Dominica sancta ad matut.*

[Fol. 53.] *Item alia Benedictio.*[s]

Dñ qui calcatis inferni legibus captiuitatem nr̃am resoluta hodie catenarum compage dignatus es ad libertatis premia reuocare. inclina aures tuas ad uota populi propitius. ut hinc ad te recuperatorem suum. sensus semper attollat intuitum. Amen.

Te cognoscat. se corrigat. te praedic&. se commend&. te colat. se muniat. te diligat. se praepar&. Amen.

Tu sis circumstantium sine intermissione defensio. ipsi sint sine hostis possessio tua inuasione. Amen.

Ut ad beatae uitae gaudia festinantes. qui salutari fonte renati sunt. peccati maculam non repetant. originali excessu.

[Fol. 53 v.] [XLVIII.] *Feria. II. Ben'd.*[t]

Dñ qui pro uobis suscepit iniuriam crucis. laetitia uos innouet sue resurrectionis. Am̃.

Et qui pendendi secum in cruce latroni amisit delictum. uos salu& a cunctis nexib: peccatorū. Am̃.

Ut redemptionis ur̃ae mysterium. & digne conuertatis in opere. & locupletius aeterna perfruamini remuneratione. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[XLIX.] *Feria. III. Ben'd.*[u]

Dñ qui uos lauit aquis sui lateris. & redemit effusione cruoris. ipse in uobis confirm& gratiam adeptae redemptionis. Amen.

Per quem renati estis ex aqua & sp̃u sc̃o. ipse uos caelesti consoci& regno. Amen.

Quiq: dedit uobis initia sc̃ae fidei. ipse conferat. & perfectionem operis. & plenitudinem caritatis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. Amen.

[s] Pamel. 492; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "invasione tua possessio."

[t] Pontif. Rom. 241 b; Pamel. 491; Menard, 77; *Feria II. in Albis*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 630, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "solvat," "quo."

[u] Pamel. 492; Menard, 78; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. tom. iii. fo. 630, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "initia."

[Fol. 54.] [L.] *Feria. IIII. Ben'.*[x]

Dñs Dš noster. uos perducat ad arborem uitae. qui eruit de lacu miseriae. ipse uobis aperiat ianuam paradysi. qui confregit portas inferni. Amen.

Ipse uos eruat a flagello. & in regnum suum perducat confidentes. qui pati dignatus est pro impiis innocens. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium sine fine perman& in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[Fol.54 v.] [LI.] *Feria. V. Ben'd.*[y]

Omnipotentis dī & dñi nr̄i benedictionibus repleamini. cuius estis sanguine pretioso redempti. Amen.

Ipse uos indeficienti repleat gratia. cuius ineffabilis plasmauit potentia. Amen.

Et qui uobis in hoc mundo praestitit condicionem nascendi. ipse in regno aeterno tribuat mansionem. sine fine uiuendi. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 55.] [LII.] *Feria. VI. Ben'd.*[z]

Benedicat uos Dš de caelis omnipotens. qui per crucem & sanguinem passionis suae dignatus est redimere in terris. Am̄ī.

Ipse uos renouet a uetustate peccati. qui pro uobis dignatus est crucifigi. uosq: ad caelestia suscit&. qui pro uobis infera penetrauit. Amen.

Uitam suam dñs uobis tribuat. qui mortem ur̄am suscepit & perdidit. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[x] Pamel. 492; Menard, 78; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. tom. iii. in Missa Ratoldi, fo. 246, ex cod. S. Theod. fo. 630; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[y] Pamel. 492; Menard, 79; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[z] Pamel. 493; Menard, 80; Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, ex cod. S. Theod.: Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "vos," "inferna."

[Fol. 55 v.]

[LIII.] *Sabbato. Ben'd.*[a]

Dñ qui inter orbis primordia subducto flectu pelagi. terras vario germine fecundasti. concede pastor optime. gregem tuũ tuam resurrectionem caelebrantem. perhennib: pascuis introduci. Amen.

Ut te custode sic oues gubernentur & agni. ut nullus ex eis lupum patiatur in praedam raptorem. Amen.

Sed erepti de fauce lupi. paradysi mereantur floribus epulari. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 57, in capital letters of gold, within a decorated arch.]

[LIV. *Benedictio in octava Paschæ.*[b]]

Dñ cvivs vnigenitvs hodierna die discipulis suis ianuis clausis dignatus est apparere. suae uos benedictionis dono locupletare. & caelestis uobis regni ianuas dignetur aperire. Amen.

Et qui ab eorum pectorib: ad tactum sui corporis uulnus amputauit dubietatis. concedat ut p̃ fidem qua eum resurrexisse creditis omnium delictorum maculis careatis. Amen.

Et qui eum cum Thoma dm̃ & dm̃ creditis. & cernuis uocib: inuocatis. ab eo & in hoc saeculo a malis omnib: tueri. & in futuro sc̃orum coetib: adstare ualeatis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 58.]

[LV.] *Dom'c'. I. Post octabas Paschae. Ben.*[c]

Benedicat uos omp̃s Dñ qui uos gratuita miseratione creauit. & in resurrectione unigeniti sui spem uobis resurgendi concessit. Amen.

Resuscit& uos diuitiorum sepulchris. qui eum resuscitauit a mortuis. Amen.

[a] Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[b] Pontif. Rom. 242; Lambec. 306; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 370; Pamel. 490; Menard, 82; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. Missale Leofrici, fol. 120 v.

[c] Pontif. Rom. 242; Lamb. 307, *de Resurrectione;* Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 370; Pamel. 491; Menard, 89; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "veraciter"; Missale Leofrici, fo. 123.

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C.F. Harris sc.

Ut cum eo sine fine feliciter uiuatis. quem resurrexisse a mortuis feliciter creditis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

Item alia Ben'.[d]

Dñ qui per resurrectionem unigeniti sui uobis contulit. & bonũ redemtionis & de eius adoptionis. suae uobis conferat praemia benedictionis. Amen.

Et quo redimente percepistis donum perpetuae libertatis. eo largiente consortes efficiamini aeternae hereditatis. Amen.

Et cui consurrexistis in baptismate credendo. adiungi mereamini in caelesti regione bene uiuendo. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 58 v.] [LVI.] *Dom'c'. II. Post octabas Paschae.*[e]

Concede misericors Dñ huic plebi salutifera paschae sollempnia celebranti. omnes ouium uellere in tua uoluntate plantari. & sperare quod tibi placuerit. & impetrare sibim& quod oport&. Añ.

Te oculis intendat. corde teneat. uoce concinat. & uotis requirat. Amen.

Euit& quod uetueris. eligat quod iusseris. amplectatur quod dicis. impleat quo placaris. Añ.

Ut in ea mysticae pietatis tuae sacramento perfecto. prompte suum diligat dñm. quae sanguine fuso. noua mercede intellegit se redemptam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 59.] *Item alia.*[f]

Dñ qui dignatione misericordiae maiestate potenti. ut succurreres homini. terras caelitus uisitasti. praesta familiae tuae ita hanc uitam transigere. ut in illam perpetuam te ducente possit intrare. Amen.

[d] Lambec. 307; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 370; Menard, 90, *in Dominic. ii. post octavas Paschæ*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in Dom. ii. post octab. Paschæ*, "decus redēptionis;" Missale Leofrici, fol. 123.

[e] Pontif. Rom. 241 b, *in feria iii. Pasce*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in Dom. iii. post octab. Pasch.* "corde teneat" omitted, "qui sanguine fuso prophetico nova mente."

[f] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631. ex cod. S. Theod.

Tantum habeant feruorem catholicae fidei. ut sc̃i aduentus tui sint expectatione securi. Am̃.

Ut quicumq: meruerunt purgari unda baptismi. praesentari ualeant tibi pio iudici canditati. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 59 v.] *Item alia.*[g]

D. qui de diuersis florib: tuam semper exornas ecclesiam. quam uelut boni odoris flagrare fecisti. da plebi tuae ad caelestem gloriam. & inmortalitatis honorem renatae. dignum regenerationis suae mentis ornatum. Amen.

Et ut tales uitae eos finis inueniat. quales fons regenerationis amisit. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 60.] *Item alia.*

Omp̃s sempiterne dš. qui resurgens a mortuis passione cassata potentiorem te tuis discipulis reddidisti. cum quibus etiam haec tempora post gloriosam resurrectionem corporali uisu tactuq: palpabili. per dies quadraginta ut uerus dš & uerus homo conuersatus es. exaudi qš supplicem hunc populum. ante conspectum tremendae maiestatis tuae prostratum. Am̃.

Benedic eum tua sacro sc̃a benedictione. & paterna semper custodi pietate. Amen.

Ut pro quib: dignatus es tam duram sustinere passionem. numquam hos permittas introire in supplicium gehennae. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 60 v.] [LVII.] *Bend' in n'l Sco'rum Tiburtii et Ualeriani.*[h]

Benedicat uobis dñs beatorum martyrũ suorum Tiburtii & Ualeriani suffragiis & liber& ab aduersitatib: cunctis. Amen.

Commendet uos eorum intercessio gloriosa. quorum in conspectu eius est mors pretiosa. Am̃.

Ut sicut illi per diuersa genera tormentorum caelesti regni sunt sortiti here-

g Pontif. Rom. 241 b. *in feria quarta in albis;* Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631.

h The Leonine Sacramentary begins with the festival of these Saints, which is kept in the Gregorian Sacramentary on the 14th of April. They suffered martyrdom in the year 229.

ditatem. ita uos eorū mereamini consortium per bonorum operum exhibitionem. Am̃.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur cuius regnum & imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorū. Amen.

[Fol. 61.] [LVIII. *Bened' in inuentione S'c'ae Crucis.*][i]

Benedicat uos omnipotens Ds̃. qui per unigeniti sui ihū xp̃i dñi nr̃i passionem. & crucis patibulum genus redemit humanum. Amen.

Concedatq: uobis. ut cum omnib: sc̃is quae sit ejusdem crucis longitudo. latitudo. sublimitas & profundum. mente deuota cōprehendere possitis. Amen.

Quatinus uosm&-ipsos abnegando. crucemq: gestando. ita in praesentis uitae stadio redemptorẽ nostrum possitis sequi. ut ei inter choros angelorum post obitum mereamini adscisci. Am̃.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in sc̃a saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 61 v.] [LIX.] *Benedictio in Laetania maiore.*[k]

Omp̃s Ds̃. deuotionem ur̃am dignanter intendat. & suae uobis benedictionis dona concedat. Amen.

[i] Lambec. 309 *in festivitate Sanctæ Crucis;* Muratori, ex cod. Othoboniano 373; Pamel. 493 *de Sancta Cruce;* Menard, 87, *die inventio' Sanctæ Crucis;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "capere valeatis." Missale Leofrici, 170. 5 *non. Maii inventio' Crucis.* There is no mention of this festival in the Greek menology. It is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and also in the Gregorian Sacramentaries of Menard and others.

[k] Pontif. Rom. 242-6, *in feria* ii. *in Rogationibus;* Lambec. 307, *de ieiunio;* Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 371, *de ieiunio;* Menard, 92; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, *in ieiunio,* ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. The benediction in tertia feria in that MS. begins "Benedic Q's D'ne universam familiam tuam," &c. Missale Leofrici, fo. 126.

The Rogation Days preceding the festival of the Ascension, were called *in Laetanea Majore,* from the long Litany of the saints used by the Church at this time. XVI. De diebus litaniarum—Sexto decimo condixerunt capitulo; ut litaniae, id est, rogationes a clere omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur; id est die septimo Kalendarum Maiarum, juxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae: quae et litania major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum, tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in caelos, cum jejunio usque ad horam nonam, et missarum celebratione venerentur; non admixtis vanitatibus, uti mos est plurimis, vel negligentibus, vel imperitis, id est, ludis et equorum cursibus, et epulis majoribus; sed majis

Indulgeat uobis mala omnia quae gessistis. & tribuat ueniā quam ab eo deposcitis. Amen.

Sicq: ieiunii uestri & precum uota suscipiat. ut a uobis aduersa omnia quae peccatorum retributione meremini auertat. & donum in uos sp̃s paracleti infundat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dĩ patris. & filii & sp̃s sc̃i.

Amen.

[Fol. 62 v.] *Item alia Benedict' de ieiunio.*[1]

Respice dñe super hanc familiam tuam subiectam tibi benedictionum tuarum dona poscentem. rege eam de superioribus tuis. & ubertatem fructuum largire eis. Amen.

Libera eam a dieb: malis. & a cogitatione bellorum. & da eis tempora tranquilla atq: pacifica. ut custode peruigili ac pastore aeterno. & praesenti temporae consistant securi. & ad aeterna gaudia perueniant liberi. Amen.

Et qui quondam misericors miseratus es turbę tecum triduo permanenti. simili nunc dignatione super hanc miserere plebem. tibi ieiuniis & hymnis innixius supplicantem. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula sc̃lorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dĩ patris. & filii. & sp̃s sc̃i. & pax eius sit semper uobiscum. Amen.

[Fol. 63.] [LX.] *Benedictio in uigilia ascensionis D'ni.*[m]

Benedictionum suarum super uos dñs imbrem infundat. & claritatis suae thesauros caelestes uobis aperiat. Amen.

cum timore et tremore, signo passionis Christi, nostraeque aeternae redemptionis, et reliquiis sanctorum ejus coram portatis, omnis populus genu flectendo divinam pro delictis humiliter exoret indulgentiam. Concil. Cloveshoviense Anno 747. Wilkins, tom. i. p. 97.

[1] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 631, ex cod. S. Theod. Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in quarta feria,* "tibi" omitted, "perturbatione," "ei," "tempore," "consistat secura," "perveniat libera," "huic miserere plebi."

[m] Pontif. Rom. 242, *in Dominica tertia post octavas Pasce;* Menard, *in Dom' prima post ascensionem Domini;* Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632, ex cod. S. Theod.

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Faciatq: uos dñs uitae aeternae participes. & regni caelestis coheredes. Amen.

Dignam in uobis habitationem sps scs inueniat. & ejus gloriosa maiestas placide in uestris cordibus requiescat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dī patris. & filii. & sps sci. & pax dñi sit semper uobiscum.

[Fol. 65, in gold letters, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[LXI. *Benedictio in die Ascensionis Domini.*] [n]

Benedicat uos omnipots ds cuius hodierna die unigenitus caelorum alta penetrauit. & uobis ubi ille est ascendendi aditum patefecit. Amen.

Concedat propitius. ut sicut post resurrectionem suam discipulis manifestus. ita uobis in iudiciū ueniens uideatur placatus. Amen.

Et qui eum consedere patri in sua maiestate creditis. uobiscum manere usq: in finem saeculi. saecundum suam promissionē sentiatis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecul.

[Fol. 66.]

[LXII.] *Dom'c. post ascen's.* [o]

Ds qui Tartara fregisti resurgens. aperuisti caelos ascendens. ut populi illuc per fidem accederent. ubi te apostoli cum gloria uiderunt intrare. respice ascendens in caelum. propter quod dignatus es descendere ad infernum. Amen.

Sit eis quod te exaltasti protectio. quibus fuit unicum quod te humiliasti remedium. Añ.

Ut in die iudicii non sint sinistro numero. qui te sedere ad patris dexteram confitentur in regno. Añ.

Quod ipse.

[n] Pontif. Rom. 243; Lambec. 306; Muratori, ex cod. Othobon. 371; Pamel. 493; Menard, 95; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632 ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "visus est," Missale Leofrici, fo. 128. This festival occurs in the Leonine Sacramentary.

[o] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632; ex cod. S. Theod. In the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, the form for this day begins: "Benedictionum suarum super vos D'n's imbrem infundat," &c.

[Fol. 66 v.]

[LXIII.] *Bened' in uigilia Pentecosten.*[p]

Benedicat uos omnipotens Dš. ob cuius paraclyti sp̃s aduentū. mentes uŕas ieiunii obseruantia praeparatis. & praesentem diem sollempnib: laudibus honoratis. Amen.

Instar modo renatorum infantium talem innocentiam habeatis. ut templum sc̃i sp̃s ipso tribuente esse possitis. Am̃.

Atq: idem sp̃s sc̃s. ita uos hodie sua habitatione. dignos efficiat. ut cras se uestris mentib: uobiscum perpetim habiturus infundat. & peracto praesentis uitae curriculo. uos ad caelestia regna perducat. Am̃.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 68, in capital letters of gold within a decorated arch.]

[LXIV. *Benedictio in Pentecosten.*][q]

Dš qvi hodierna die discipvlorum mentes sp̃s paraclyti infusione dignatus est inlustrare. faciat uos sua benedictione repleri. & eiusdem sp̃s donis exuberare. Am̃.

Ille ignis qui sup discipulos apparuit. peccatorum uestrorum sordes expurg&. & sui luminis infusione corda uŕa perlustr&. Amen.

Quiq: dignatus est diuersitatem linguarum in unius fidei confessione adunare. in eadem uos faciat fide perseuerare. & per hanc ab spe ad speciem peruenire. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 69.]

Item alia.

Dš qui presentem diem futurae remissionis munerare figurasti. quo gratia sc̃i sp̃s inebriati apostoli mente una locuti sunt ore diuerso. respice hanc ecclesiam. quam ex gentib: congregari linguarum uarietate signasti. Amen.

Da consolationem inter praessuras seculi. qui nobis hodie aequalem tibi ipsi consolatorem sp̃m̃ misisti. Amen.

p Pontif. Rom 243; Lambec. 308; Muratori, 371, ex cod. Othobon.; Pamel. 494; Menard, fo. 98; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 131. *In Sabbato ante Pentecoste.*

q Pontif. Rom. 243; Lambec. 308; Muratori, 372, ex cod. Othob.; Pamel. 494; Menard, 99; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 132.

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TRINITAS

VNVS ET VERVS

DS·PATER·ET·FILIVS·ET·SPS·SC·

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Ut te propitiante sit ipse nunc plebis huius custodia. qui dedit discipulis tunc doctrinam. Añ.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol.69v.]

[LXV.] *In sabb' Pentecost'.*[r]

Benedicat uos omnipotens Dš. qui cuncta ex nihilo creauit. & uobis in baptismate per sp̃m sc̃m remissionē omnium peccatorum tribuit. Añ.

Quiq: eundem sp̃m sc̃m in igneis linguis discipulis suis dedit ipsius illustratione corda uŕa perlustr&. atq: in suum amorem iugiter accendat. Amen.

Quatinus eius dono a cunctis uitiis emundati. ipsius opitulatione ab omnib: aduersitatibus defensi. templum ipsius effici mereamini. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 70, in letters of gold.]

[LXVI.] *Dom'c. octabas Pentecost'.*[s]

Omp̃s Trinitas vnvs et vervs Dš. Pater. et Filivs. et Sp̃s Sc̃s. det uobis eum desiderare fideliter. agnoscere ueraciter. diligere sinceriter. Amen.

Aequalitatem atq: incommutabilitatem suae essentiae. ita uestris mentib: infigat. ut ab eo numquam uos quib: cumque fantasiis oberrare permittat. Amen.

Sicq: uos in sua fide & caritate perseuerare concedat. ut per ea postmodum ad sui manifestationē uisionemq: interminabilem introducat. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol.70v.]

Item alia Ben'd.[t]

Dnē ihū xp̃e qui discipulis tuis tuum sp̃m tribuisti. aecclae tuae catholicae dona largire. Amen.

Ut quicumq: sunt ex aqua & spū sc̃o renati. semper sint eius protectione muniti. Amen.

[r] Pontif. Rom. 243 b. *in feria tertia Penthecostes*; Menard, 102, *Sabbato in* xii *lect. mense* iv; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632, ut in Menard; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "*Ben'd. per totam septemanā*" "vobis," "omnipotens" omitted, "inlustratione."

[s] Pontif. Rom. 243, *in die Sanctæ Trinitatis*; Menard, 104; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "vos, numquam."

[t] Pontif. Rom. 243 b. *in octavis Penthē*, "tuum dedisti spiritus ecclesiæ tuæ Catholicæ;" Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 632, ex cod. S. Theod.

Redund& in eis caritas diffusa per sp̃m sc̃m. quae operiat ac super& omnem multitudinem peccatorum. Amen.

Requiescat in istis propitius. qui quondam requieuit in apostolis gloriosus. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 71.] [LXVII.] *Dom'c. I. Post Pentecost.*[u]

Benedicat uobis dñs. & custodiat uos.

Illumin& faciem super uos. & misereatur uri. Am̃.

Conuertat uultum suũ ad uos. & det uobis pacem. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol.71 v.] *Item alia.*[v]

Respice dñe de caelo. & uide & uisita uineam istam quam plantauit dextera tua. Amen.

Spiritales exhibeant fructus. & caelestes diligant actus. Am̃.

Et sine uitio in hoc saeculo transigant uitam suam. ut possint promereri perpetuam. Amen.

Fragilem solida. contritum releua. inualidum robora. ualidumq: confirma. Amen.

Pietate alleua. caritate aedifica. castitate munda. sapientia illumina. miseratione conserua. Am̃.

Proficiant huic praecepta. fidei uigilantia. amoris tui perseuerantia. temperantia morum. misericordiae prouidentia. actuum disciplina. Amen.

Et per concessam miserationis indulgentiam. non abicias eos a promissionis tuae munificentia. sed perducas ad ueniam. quos hic tibi adoptasti per gratiam. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 72.] [LXVIII.] *Dom'c. II. P' Pentec.*[x]

Propitietur Dñs cunctis iniquitatibus uestris. & san& omnes languores uros. Amen.

[u] Menard, 176, *Hebdomeda I. post Pentecosten;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep. [v] See p. 69.

[x] Menard, 176, *in Hebdomeda III post Pentecosten;* Supp. Bened. Op. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 634, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Redimat de interitu uitam uŕam. & sati& in bonis desideriū uŕm.

Auferat a uobis cor lapideum. & det uobis cor carneum. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.72v.] *Item alia.*[y]

Agnoscat Dñs in uobis proprium signum. & uobis suae misericordiae conferat donum. Amen.

Bella comprimat. famem auferat. pacem tribuat. inimici insidias longe repellat. Amen.

Merentium gemitus uideat. uocem uŕi doloris exaudiat. & lacrimas ab omni facie tergat. Am̃.

Alternam uobis direptionem indulgeat. & perfectam caritatē concedat. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 73.] [LXIX.] *Dom'c. III. P' Pentec'.*

Benedicat uos omp̃s Ds̃. & caelesti dignatus auxilio. gratiam uobis salutifere benedictionis infundat. Am̃.

Auferat a uobis omnes maculas delictorū. & mentes uŕas ad bonitatis intellegentiam benignus institutor erudiat. Am̃.

Et praestet uobis uelle quae praecepit. inspiret quae diligit. & tribuat quod oportet. atq: omī uos bonorum spiritualium munere. cum praesentium rerum subministratione locuplet&. Am̃.

Ut uos in fide firm&. in temptatione erigat. in conuersatione custodiat. in uirtute multiplic&. in infirmitate releuet. in anxietate laetific&. Amen.

In prosperitate praepar&. in aequitate emendet. in tranquillitate sublimet. infundat gratiam. indulgeat offensam. ingerat disciplinam. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.73v.] [LXX.] *Dom'c. IIII. P' Pentec.*[z]

Emundet Dñs conscientias uŕas ab omni malitia. & repleat sc̃ificatione perpetua. Amen.

[y] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex cod. S. Theod. *in Dom. V. post Pentecosten.*

[z] Pamel. 501, *in Dom. II. post Pentecosten*; Menard, *in Hebdomada V. post Pentecosten*, 178; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex. cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Uota uŕa clementer intendat. & peccata omnia propitiatus indulgeat. Amen.

Quae pie optatis. miseratus attribuat. & quae pauescitis. pius propugnator procul repellat. Am̃.

Quod ipse. Amen.

Item alia.

Benedicat et custodiet uos Dm̃is. & sensus uŕos sui luminis splendore perfundat. Am̃.

Illa uos tueatur potentia qua condidit. illa uos pietate sc̃ific& qua redemit. Amen.

Et ita custodiat de turbinib: huius saeculi. ut in caelestib: coheredes glorificatos Dō offerat genitori. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 74.] [LXXI.] *Dom. V. P' Pentec'.*[a]

Omp̃s Ds̃ sua uos clementia benedicat. & sensum in uobis sapientiae salutaris infundat. Amen.

Catholicae fidei uos documentis enutriat. & in sc̃is operibus perseverabiles reddat. Amen.

Gressus uŕos ab errore conuertat. & uiam uobis pacis & caritatis ostendat. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 74 v.] *Item alia.*

Benedicat uos Ds̃ pater dm̃i nr̃i Ihu Xp̃i. & respectu caelestis misericordiae protegat uos sub umbra uirtutis suę. Amen.

D& uobis animarum compunctionem. inmaculatam fidem. conscientiae puritatem. Amen.

Sensus uestros dirigat. corda compungat. in prosperis adsistat. in aduersis manum porrigat. in laborib: solacium ferat. Am̃.

Uirtutum suarum merita multiplic&. recta consilia advoc&. religiosa uota confirmet. Am̃.

[a] Menard, 179, *in Hebdomada VI. post Pentecosten;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Repleat corda uŕa spiritalibus donis. & abundare faciat in uobis semper perfectam gratiam caritatis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 75.] [LXXII.] *Dom'c. VI. P' Pent'.*[b]

Amoueat a uobis Dñs totius maculas simultatis. & imbuat uos muneribus purae dilectionis. Am̃.

Subiug& in vobis reluctationē. carnis & sanguinis. & opem conferat perpetuae castitatis. Am̃.

Idq: uos in praesenti saeculo diligere faciat. quod a caelestis paradysi hereditate non diuidat. Am̃.

Quod ipse. Amen.

[Fol. 75v.] *Item alia Benedictio.*

Dñe Ds̃ omp̃s. hos omnes in fonte baptismatis sp̃s tui munerare sacramentorum tuorum plenitudini petimus praeparari. ut quorum animas mysterio sc̃i corporis tui satiasti. illos ad uitam. cuius pignus est aeternā perducere digneris. Amen.

Et qui spm̃ tuum in primordio super aquas in figura regenerationis nr̃ae per aquam salutiferam ambulare fecisti. quiq: per spm̃ tuum tibi coaeternum super filium in Iordane. gratiam spiritalem in columba demostrasti. sup hanc plebem qs̃ Dñe fidelium nouiter renouatam. benignus respice. Am̃.

Ut quod audierint intelligant. firmis cogitationib: credant. & infirmitate perseuerent. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 76.] [LXXIII.] *Dom' VII. P' Pentec'.*[c]

Inclinet Dñs aurem suā ad praeces uŕae humilitatis. & det uobis suae benedictionis grām. & premium sempiternae salutis. Amen.

Semp & ubiq: dñm propitium habeatis. & in eius laudib: exultetis. Amen.

[b] Pamel. 592, *in Dom. III. post Pentecost.*; Menard, *in Hebdomada VII. post Pentecost.* 180; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[c] Menard, *in Heb. VIII. post Pentecosten*, 161; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "gratiam" omitted.

Omnium peccatorum uŕorum uincula soluat. & ad gloriam sempiternam peruenire uos faciat.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.76v.] *Item alia Bened'.*[d]

Dñe Iħu pastor bone. qui animam tuam pro ouib: posuisti. sanguinis tui defende commercium. Amen.

Gregem tuum propitius uisitare dignare. esurientem pasce. sitientem pota. Amen.

Quod perierat require. quod errat conuerte. contritum conliga. conforta inualidum. ualidumq: custodi. Amen.

Fac eos ante conspectum tuum cum iustitia uiuere. & cum misericordia si se custodierint indicare. Amen.

Tribue eis in fide credulitatem. in labore uirtutem. in affectu deuotionem. in actu prosperitatem. in uictu abundantiā. in pace laetitiam. in conuersatione gratiam. in luctatione uictoriam. Amen.

Ut in beneplacito conspectui tuo tramite gaudentes praesenti tempore. cum felicitate percurrant. & uenturum tempus cum hilaritate suscipiant. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 77.] [LXXIV.] *Dom'c. VIII. P' Pentec'.*[e]

Sc̃ificet uos Dñi gratia. & ab omni malo custodiat. Amen.

Arceat a uobis omne quod malum est. & sp̃s uŕos corporaq: purific&. Amen.

Allig& uos sibi uinculo caritatis. & pax dñi habundet in cordibus uŕis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.77v.] *Item alia Ben'.*[f]

Benedicat et sc̃ificet uos Dñs ex Sion. qui fecit caelum & terrā in sapientia. Amen.

[d] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex cod. S. Theod.

[e] Pamel. 502, *in Dom. IIII. post Pentecost.*; Menard, *in Heb. IX. post Pentecosten*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[f] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 625, ex cod. S. Theod. *in Dom'c' XXV. post Pentecosten.*

Benedictione aeterna qua benedixit omnes sc̃os patres. & patriarchas ur̃os. Abraham. Isaac. & Iacob. Amen.

Multiplic& in uobis gratiam spiritualem. sicut multiplicauit sem̃ eorum tamquam stellas caeli. & harenam quae est in litore maris. Amen.

Ille uos protegat atq: defendat. omnib: dieb: uitae ur̃ae. & perducat ad regnum gloriae.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 78.] [LXXV.] *Dom'c. VIIII. Post Pentec'.*[g]

Multiplicet in uobis Dn̄is copiam suae benedictionis. & confirm& uos in spē regni caelestis. Amen.

Actus ur̃os corrigat. uitam emend&. mores componat. & uos ad caelestis paradysi hereditatem perducat. Amen.

Eaq: intentione repleri ualeatis. qua ei in perpetuum placeatis. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

Item alia.[h]

Benedictionum suarū super uos Dn̄is imbrem infundat & orationes ur̃as exaudiat. Amen.

Thesauros misericordiae suae uobis aperiat. quod malum arceat. & uobis quod bonum tribuat. Am̃.

Dignosq: uos faciat. quib: uirtutū suarum secreta commisit. a malo uos eruat. induci in temptatione numquam permittat. Am̃.

Dirigat uos Dn̄is in omni opere bono & pax Xp̄i quae praecellit omnē sensum. corpora ur̃a pariter custodire dignetur & corda. Am̃.

Illumin& oculos ur̃os ad agnitionem ueritatis suae. & in quacumq: die inuocaueritis eum. propitius uobis adesse dignetur.

Secundum diuitias gloriae suae. omne quod ab eo poposcitis. impetretis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[g] Pontif. Rom. 244, in *Dominica VII. post Pentecosten*; Menard, in *Hebdomada X. post Pentecosten*, 182; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[h] See Benedictio in Vigilia Ascensionis D'ni.

[Fol. 79.] [LXXVI.] *Dom'c. X. P' Pentec'.*[i]

Dñ qui est uita mortalium salusq: peccatorum. auferat a uobis omnes maculas delictorū. Amen.

Induat uos decore uirtutum. sc̃ific& mentes. purific& uoluntates. & det uobis sc̃orum consortiū angelorum. Amen.

Ut probabiles fide & opere inmaculati. perueniatis ad aeternam gaudiorum caelestium hereditatē.

Quod ipse.

Item alia.[k]

Aspiciat & benedicat uos Dñs rector aeternus. & in omni parte conseruet. Amen.

D& uobis Dñs angelum summę lucis. ut conseruet in uobis gratiam quam profudit. Amen.

Mentem regat. uias dirigat. actus prob&. cogitationes sc̃as instruat. Amen.

Opera confirm&. uota perficiat. preterita indulgeat. presentia emendet. futura moderetur. Am̃.

Sit manus Dñi auxiliatrix uŕi. & brachium sc̃m illius opituletur uobis. Amen.

Sit misericordia eius super uos. & pietas illius subsequatur uos. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

Dom'c. XI. P' Pentec'.[l]

[Fol. 79v.] Deuotionem uŕam Dñs dignanter intendat. & suae uobis benedictionis dona concedat. Amen.

Taliq: uos in praesenti sęculo subsidio muniat. ut paradysi uos in futuro habitatores efficiat. Am̃.

Sicq: corda uŕa sc̃ificando benedicat. & benedicendo sc̃ific&. ut uobiscum immo in uobis eum iugiter habitare delect&. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[i] Pamel. 592, *in Dom. V. post Pentecosten;* Menard. *in Hebdomada XI. post Pentecosten,* 183; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 633, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[k] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 635, *in Dom. XXV. post Pentecosten.*

[l] Menard, *in Heb. XII. post Pentecosten;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[Fol. 80.]

Item alia Bened'.

Benedic Dñe hos populos tuos. respectui tuo se supplici oratione curuantes. atq: hos omnes concordes. quietos. pacificos. & sospites serua. Amen.

Tribue eis ut sectentur non interitum sed uitam. non carnē. sed sp̄m. Non temporalia. sed aeterna. Amen.

Ut operibus suis non solum absoluti. uerum etiam iustificati. digni sint ueniam & gloriam promereri. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 80v.]

[LXXVIII.] *Dom'c. XII. P' Pentec'.*[m]

Gratia sua uos Dñs locupletet. & caelesti benedictione multiplic&. Añ.

Ab omni uos aduersitate defendat & pia semper miseratione custodiat. Amen.

Petitiones uŕas placatus intendat. & culparum omniū uobis ueniā clementer attribuat. Amen.

Quod ipse.

Item alia.

Sacratae uitis benedictio fecunda uos obtegat. excelsęq: dexterae uirtus altissima benedicat. Amen.

Botrus ille suspensus. ac praessus sanguinis uos haustu laetific&. spiritalisq: cybi dulcedine nutriat ac reformet. Amen.

Castitatis gloria corda uŕa uelut pampinei palmitis umbra circūtegat. lenibusq: flabris corpora pudicitiae aura respergat. Añ.

Sitis decorati in eius uineae ornamento. atq: attolli cum fructu iustitiae mereamini felices in caelo. Amen.

Ut haurientes uinum nouum in illo uernantis regno paradysi exultetis. in eo iugiter beati eius corporis conformes effecti. Añ.

Quod ipse.

[m] Pamel. 502, *in Dominica VI. post Pentec.*; Menard, *in Hebdomada XIII. post Pentecosten*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 634, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[Fol.81v.] [LXXIX.] *Dom'c. XIII. P' Pentecost'.*[n]

Det uobis Dñs munus suae benedictionis. & repleat uos sp̃u ueritatis & pacis. Am̃.

Quatinus sic per uiam salutis deuota mente curratis. ut subripientium delictorum laqueos salubriter euadatis. Amen.

Sicq: efficiamini in eius supplicatione deuoti. & in mutua dilectione sinceri; ut ad caeleste regnum peruenire possitis securi. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

Item alia.

Benedicat uos Ds̃ misericordia plenus. pietate inmensus. maiestate gloriosus. uirtute praecipuus. Am̃.

Det uobis fidem sine scismate. dilectionem sine simulatione. integritatem sine crimine. continentiam sine lapsu. Amen.

Multipliciter pax in cordib: uŕis. securitas in tempore. temperies in aere. fructus in germine. Am̃.

Ut dum uos pius miserator omnib: bonis locupletat. in suam hereditatem propitius introducat. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 82.] [LXXX.] *Domc'. XIIII. P' Pentec'.*[o]

Benedictio uos Dñi comitetur ubiq: sibiq: uos semp faciat adherere. Amen.

Ipse uos sua benedictione saluific&. qui dignatus est plasmare potenter. Amen.

Atq: ita uos praest& feliciter uenire. ut caelestis beatitudinis efficiat coheredes. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.82v.] *Item alia.*

Benedicat in uobis Dñs Ds̃ ñr imaginem quam plasmauit. & det misericordiam quam promisit. Amen.

[n] Menard, *in Hebdomada XIV. post Pentecosten;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[o] Pamel. 502, *in Dom. VII. post Pentecosten;* Menard, *in Hebdomada XV. post Pentecosten;* Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 634, ex cod. S. Theod.; Benedict. Roberti, Archiep.

Custodiat animas uŕas quas redemit. seruando gratiā quam profudit. Amen.

Ut & uos impleatis quae praecepit. & ille custodiat. quod donauit. Am̃.

Ut qui nŕam erga uos mandauit sollicitudinem inpertire. semp nos faciat de uŕa emendatione gaudere. Amen.

Largam benedictionem super uos Dñs effundat. & angelum suum pacis castitatisq: in uobis constituat. Amen.

Benedicat uos Dñs ex Sion. qui de origine mortis. per uterū uirginis suae natiuitatis gratia. nos reparauit ad uitam. Am̃. Q.

[Fol. 83.] [LXXXI.] *Dom'c. XV. P' Pentec'.*[p]

Concedat uobis omnipotens Dš. munus suae benedictionis. qui uŕae est conscius infirmitatis. Am̃.

Et qui uobis tribuit supplicandi effectum. tribuat consolationis auxilium. Amen.

Ut ab eo & praesentis & futurae subsidium uitae capiatis. cuius uos bonitate creatos esse creditis. Am.

Quod ipse.

Item alia Ben'd'.

Dš qui aeccłae tuae membra de multis gentib: in uno corpore dignatus es congregare. precamur ut hic populus sit tua maiestate munitus. cuius est sanguine redemptus. Am̃.

Ut quem liberasti semel a crimine tibi facias iugiter amore deuoto seruire. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.83v.] [LXXXII.] *Dom'c. XVI. P'. Pent'.*[q]

Omnp̃s Dš peccatorum uŕorum maculas purg& & sua uos benedictione illustret. Amen.

Repleat uos spiritalium donis uirtutum. & perseuerare faciat in bonis propositū uŕm. Amen.

[p] Menard, *in Hebdom. XVI. post Pentecosten*, 187; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[q] Pamel. 503, *in Dom. VIII. post Pentecosten*; Menard, *in Heb. XVII. post Pentecosten*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 634, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Sicq: humilitatem uřam benigñ accept&. & suae uos pietatis remuneratione locuplet&. Aḿ.

Quod ipse. Amen.

[Fol. 84.]

Item alia.

Respice Dñe super hanc familiam tuā quam de AEgypti errorib: eduxisti. & repmissionem hereditatis tuae uiuida riguitate plantasti. Amen.

Euangelicae falcis acie amputa ex ea inpurae execramenta luxuriae. ut ad instar uerae uitis fructuum suorum generositate florescat. Amen.

Nec acerui botri austeritate degener&. sed infecunditatis tuae dulcedine glorietur. Amen.

Non exurenda sarmenta damni abscisione uellantur. sed frugiferi palmites tui in hac uita permaneant. Amen.

Et in fertilium sarmentorum lasciuia expurgata proflua. legas ab ea ubertate uindemiam. Aḿ.

Ut ferueat musto sp̃s sc̃i castitatē puris mentib: hauriendo deuote. Amen.

Nec luxuriosis crapulis uitietur in crimine. sed inebrietate calicis tuo poculo sobria permaneat in salutem. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 84v.]

[LXXXIII.] *Dom'c. XVII. P' Pent'.*[r]

Omp̃s Ds̃ caelesti uos protectione circumdet. & suae benedictionis dono locuplet&. Amen.

Concedatq: uobis. ut qui in sola spe gratiae caelestis innitimini. caelesti etiam protectione muniamini. Amen.

Quatinus & in praesenti saeculo mortalis uitae solacia capiatis. & sempiterna gaudia comprehendere ualeatis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 85.]

Item alia.

Benedic hunc populum oḿip̃s sempiterne Ds̃. qui es benedictionum largitor & traditor. Amen.

[r] Menard, in *Heb. XVIII. post Pentecosten*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Praesta ut haec hereditas nomini tuo dicata. tua pascatur copia. tua custodiatur gratia. tua intelligat sacramenta. Amen.

Ut te iugiter credant. prompti adorent. honorifice te timeant. gloriose diligant. Amen.

Tuaq: eos pietas per iustitiam regat. per misericordiam custodiat. per gratiam muneretur.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.85v.]

[LXXXIV.] *Dom'c. XVIII. P' Pent'.*[s]

Omp̃s Dš. dexterę suae perpetuo uos circumd& auxilio. & benedictionum suarum repleat dono. Amen.

Ab omni uos prauitate defendat. & donis caelestib: exuberare concedat. Amen.

Quo corpore mundati ac mente. talem ei exhibeatis seruitutem. per quam suam consequi ualeatis propitiationem. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 86.]

Item alia.

Respice Dñe ad hanc familiā tuam quae tibi spontaneo famulatu. ora aperit. corda parat. aures erigit. colla submittit. Amen.

Tribue eis in actib: crucem. in labiis laudem. in pectore fidem. in opere largitatem. Amen.

In uoluntate bonitatem. in conuersatione iustitiam. in morib: disciplinam. Amen.

Illa semper studeant agere te teste. quae possint excusare te iudice. Amen.

Ut in illo tremendo iudicii tui tempore. Non inueniat in eis flāma quod cruci& quod iam in hoc saeculo conuersatio religiosa mundauit. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.86v.]

[LXXXV.] *Dom'c. XVIIII. P' Pent'.*[t]

Purificet omp̃s Dš uŕorum cordium archana qui benedictionis suae uobis tribuit incrementa. Am̃.

[s] Menard, in *Hebdom. XIX. post Pentecosten*; Benedict. Roberti, Archiep.

[t] Menard, in *Heb. XX. post Pentecosten*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; "Quo illius adiutorio fulti sic ei serviatis in terris ut ei coniungi valeatis in caelis," which agrees with Menard.

Ab omnib: uitae praesentis periculis exuamini. & uirtutū spiritalium ornamentis induamini. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

Item alia Ben'd'.

Inclinata tibi capita maiestas aeterna. dexterae tuae benedictione sc̃ifica. Amen.

Ut pleni redeant sc̃is munerib: qui portas confessionis tuae deuota mente ingressi sunt. Amen.

Scuto fidei & lorica eug̃elii muniantur. ne eos sagitta uolans p diem. uenenosa rabie stimuletur. Amen.

Et ne eos in somnis ruina mortis opprimat. de eorum pectorib: crucis dextera non recedat. Am̃.

Ut te pastore uigili protegente. nihil gregem redemptum noceat os leonis. Am̃. Quod ipse.

[Fol. 87.] [LXXXVI.] *Dom' XX. P' Pent'.*[u]

Omp̃s Ds̃ uniuersa a uobis aduersa excludat. & suae super uos benedictionis dona propitiatus infundat. Amen.

Corda uŕa efficiat sacris intenta doctrinis. quo possint repleri. bēficiis sempiternis. Amen.

Quatinus & exequenda intellegentes. & intellecta exequentes. & inter aduersa mundi inueniamini indemnes. & beatorum spirituum efficiamini coheredes. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.87v.] *Item alia B'.*

Ds̃ humani generis ipse conditor que redemptor. respice placatus ad plebem quam sanguine unigeniti de morte placuit in uitam transferri. Amen.

Et quam semel uoluisti purificare per lauacrum. inmaculatam pduci pie rex digneris in caelū. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[u] Menard, *in Hebdom. XXI. post Pentecosten*, 190; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[LXXXVII.] *Dom'c. XXI. P' Pen'.*[x]

Omp̃s Dš dies uŕos in sua pace disponat. & suae uobis benedictionis dona concedat. Amen.

Ab omnib: uos perturbationib: liberet. & mentes uŕas in suae pacis tranquillitate consolidet. Am̃.

Quatinus spei. fidei. & caritatis. gemmis ornati. & praesentē uitā transigatis illesi. & ad aeternam perueniatis securi. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 88.]

Item alia Ben'd'.

Dš omp̃s indulge peccata nŕa. & non pmittas nos plus tēptari. quā nŕa fragilitas potest sustinere. Amen.

Da nobis prudentiā. temperantiā. fortitudinem. & iustitiā. ut hic tibi bene placeamus. & ad uitā aeternā puenire mereamur. Am̃.

Et praesta omnib: peccantibus ueniā. & per te uoca ad paenitentiam. ut uenturo die iudicii tibi mereamur praesentari idonei. Am̃.

Da nobis omip̃s pacem & concordiam. cū omnib: ciuib: fratribus & sororib: nŕis. Amen.

Multiplica Dñe misericordiam tuā. sup famulos tuos. & sup omnē congregationem fratrum qui in hac eccła sči ac beatissimi martyris tui. *Ill'* aut confessoris constituit. Amen.

Petimus ut per eius intercessionē de lacu maligno nos liberare digneris. ut qui dignatus es in peregrinatione comitari nos. hic & ubiq: in sčitate iubeas custodire. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 89.]

[LXXXVIII.] *Dom'c. XXII. P' Pen'.*[y]

Benedictionis dñi gratia uos semper protegat. & ab omni malo defendat. Amen.

[x] Menard, *in Hebdomada XXII. post Pentecosten*, 190; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[y] Menard, *in Hebdom. XXIII. post Pentecosten*, 192; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Mundet uos ab omni crimine peccatorum. & sibim& placere faciat in aeternum. Amen.

Ubiq: uobis dñs placatus occurrat. & suae benedictionis opem dignanter attribuat. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[LXXXIX.] *Dom'c. XXIII. P' Pen'.* [z]

Omīps Dñs adaperiat cor uestrum in lege sua. & humiliet animas uŕas ad capienda mandata caelestia. Amen.

Quicquid uobis pro salute animarum uŕarū os mortalitatis nŕae enarrat. acceptū uobis pietas diuina efficiat. Amen.

Ut diuinis sermonib: animati. cū eis qui pro uobis inuigilant. ad aeternam beatitudinem mereamini peruenire illesi. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol.89v.] *Item alia.*

Benedic Dñe omnem istam familiam. quae gratiam benedictionis tuae inuenire desiderat. Amen.

Propriam manum e caelestis emitte. & capita singulorum continge. Amen.

Descendat super hos uiros habundantia benedictionis tuae. sicut descendit ros pluuiae sup faciem terrae. Amen.

Manus tuae sentiant tactum sp̃s sc̃i percipiant gaudium. ut benedicti permaneant in aeternū. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. Amen.

[Fol. 91, in capital letters of gold.] *Benedictio in natale sc'e Aetheldryþae* [a] *perpetu'e uirg'.*

Omp̃s unus et aeternus Devs pater et filius et sp̃s sc̃s. qui beatae AEðeldryðe animū septiformis gratiae ubertate ita succensum solidauit. ut duorum coniugum thalamis asscita immunis euader&. castamq: sibi piissimus sponsam perpetim adoptar&. uos ab incentiua libidinum concupiscentia muniendo submoueat. & sui amoris igne succendat. Am̃.

[z] Menard, *in Hebdom. XXIIII. post Pentecosten*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. *in Dom. I. post octavas Pentecostes*; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. The MS. last referred to has twenty-four Sundays after Pentecost. The form for Dom. xxiiii begins "Concedat vobis Dn's premium sincerissimæ caritatis, &c. [a] St. Ætheldrytha, daughter of Anna King of the East Angles, began the Monastery of Ely in 673. Saxon Chron. See her life in Bede Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. xix. and c. xx.

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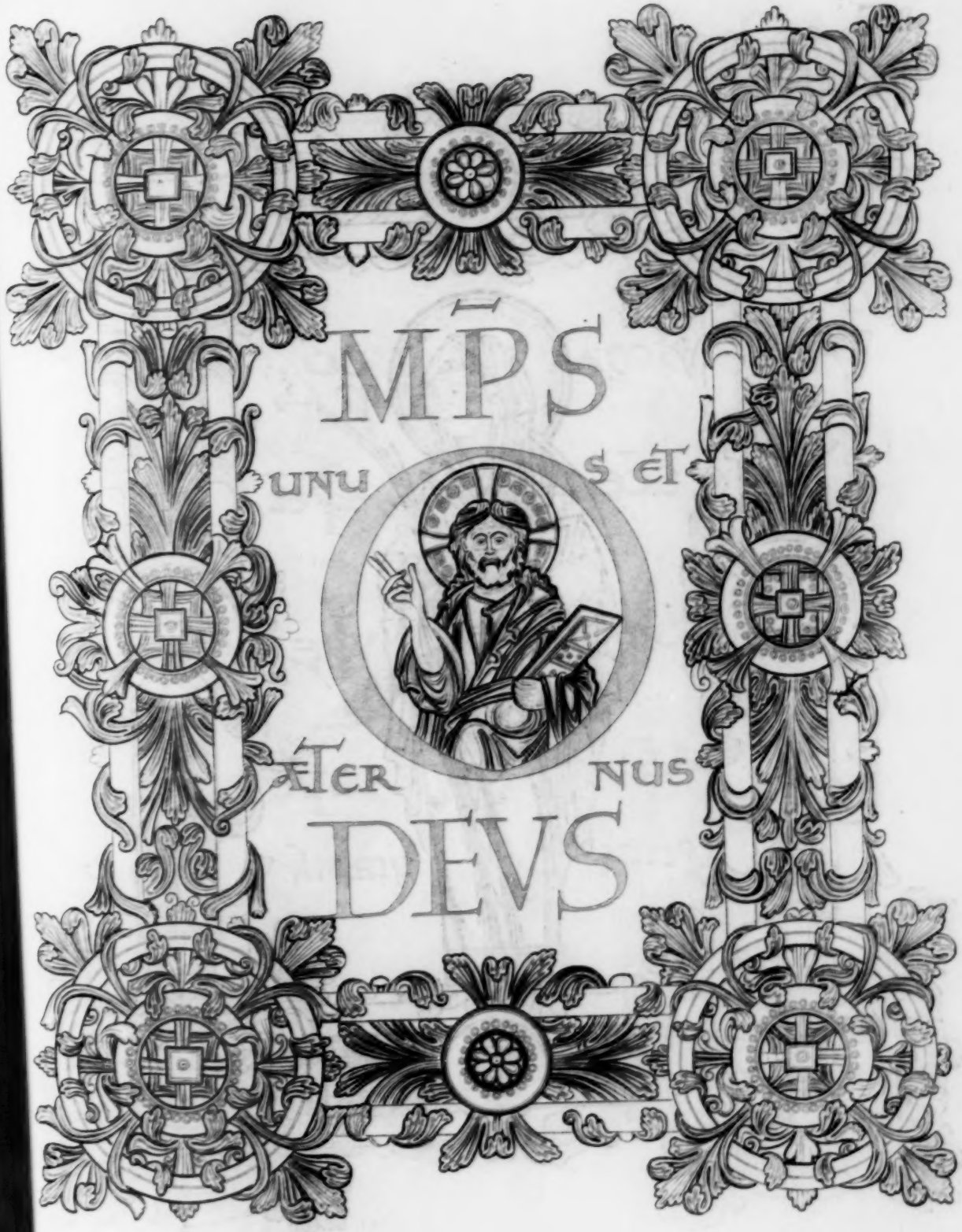

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G.F. Dunn sc.

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Et qui eius integritatem per imputribile corpus post obitum manifeste designauit. signisq: miraculorum ineffabiliter ostendit. uos in sc̃is operib: castos fideliter usq: ad vitae terminum perseuerare concedat. Amen.

Quatinus ab huius recidiui saeculi cupiditate remoti. uirtutum omnium lampadib: adornati. eius in caelis mereamini habere consortium. quae terreni regis caritatiue contempsit thalamū. spretaq: lata terrenae cupiditatis uia. artam monasticae connersationis eligere uoluit uitam. ac hodierna die uoti compos. caelestem aeterni regis intrare promeruit aulam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 93, in capital letters of gold within a decorated arch.]

[XCI. *Benedictio in nativitate Sancti Iohannis Baptistae.*[b]]

Benedicat vos omp̃s Dš beati Iohannis Baptistae intercessione. cuius hodie natalitia celebratis. concedatq: ut cuius sollempnia colitis. patrocinia sentiatis. Am̃.

Illius obtentu ab omnibus aduersis eripiamini. bonisq: omnib: perfruamini. qui aduentum redemptoris mundi. nec dum natus cognouit. matris sterilitatē nascendo abstulit. patris linguā natus absoluit. Amen.

Quatenus ipsius agni quem ille digito ostendit. cuius immolatione estis redempti. ita uirtutum lanis uestiri. & innocentiam ualeatis imitari. ut ei in aeternae patriae felicitate possitis adiungi. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[Fol. 94.]

Item alia Benedic'io in die S'c'i Iohannis Baptistae.[c]

Dš qui Beatum Iohannem Baptistam magnum nuntiasti per angelum. & maxime declarasti per uerbum qui clausus in utero reddidit obsequium dño. matrem repleuit gaudio. patris linguam soluit a uinculo. cerne placito uultu confrequentantem hodie populum ad tanti praeconis occursum. Amen.

Ascendat uox illius ad aures altissimi. qui maternis uiscerib: ante mundi dnm̃ nouit confiteri quā nasci. Amen.

[b] Pontif. Rom. 245 b; Muratori 372 ex codice Othobon.; Lambec. 308; Pamel. 504; Menard, 110; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 176. This festival occurs in the Leonine Sacramentary, *viii kalendas Julii.*

[c] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in vigilia S'ci Iohannis*, "maximum."

Et eo intercedente purgetur plebs a crimine. cuius auctorem lauacri sacra dextera tinxit in fonte. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 96, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[XCII. *Benedictio in nativitate apostolorum Petri et Pauli.*[d]]

Benedicat uos Dñ qui nos Beati Petri saluberrima confessione in ecclesiasticae fidei fundauit soliditate. Amen.

Et quos beati Pauli scissima instruxit praedicatione. sua tueatur gratissima defensione. Amen.

Quatenus Petrus claue. Paulus sermone. utriq: intercessione. ad illam uos certent patriam introducere. ad quam illi alter cruce alter gladio hodierna die peruenere. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 96v.]

Item alia Ben'd'.[e]

Dñ qui in membris ecclesiae uelut geminatum lumen quo amoneantur tenebrae fecisti Petri lacrimas Pauli litteras coruscare hanc plebem placatus inspice. qui caelos fecisti aperire Petro in claue. Paulo in dogmate. Amen.

Ut praeuiantib: ducibus. illuc grex possit accedere. quo peruenerunt pariter. tam ille pastor suspendio. quam iste doctor interemptus gladio. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare. Amen.

[Fol. 98, in capital letters of gold within a decorated arch.]

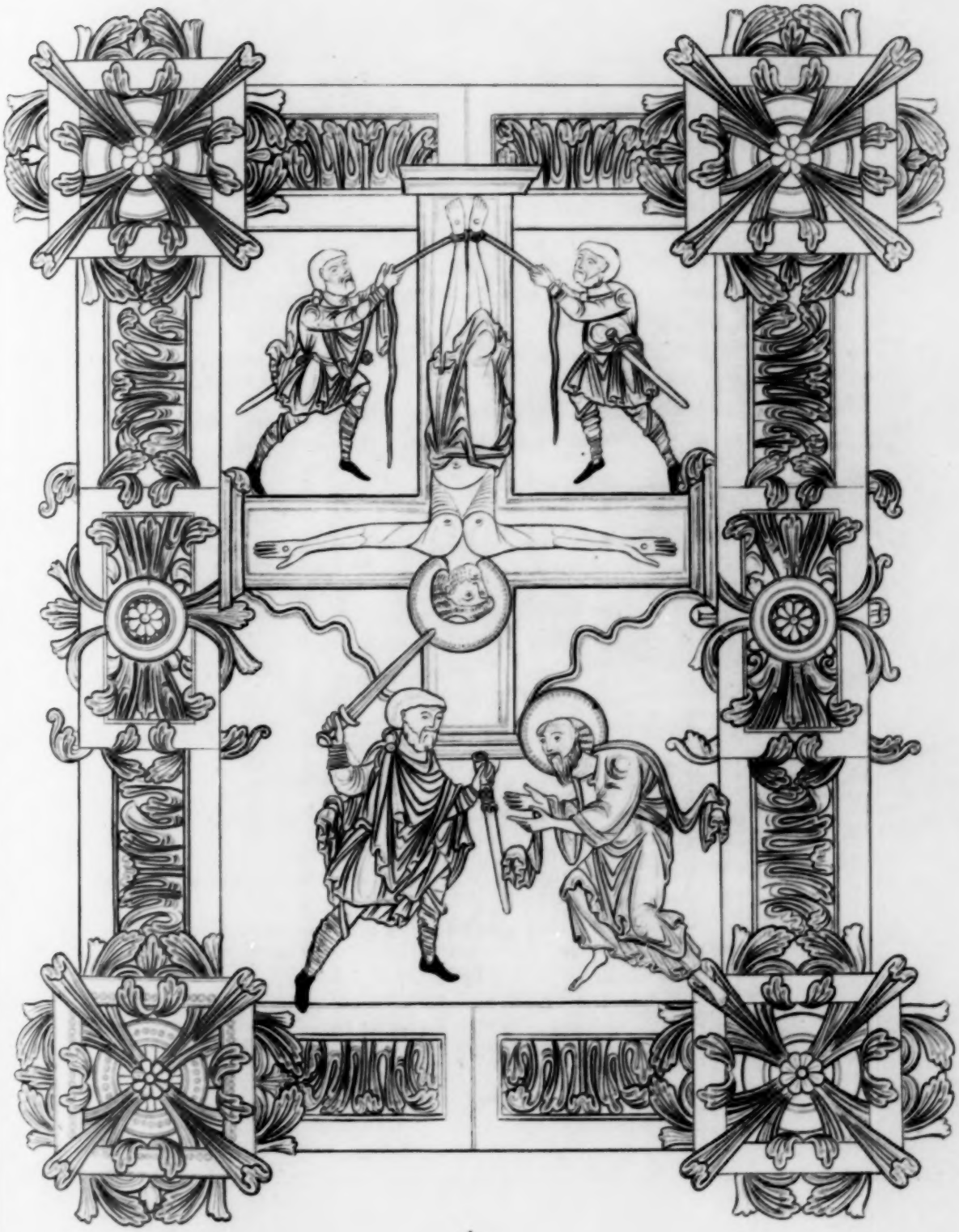
[XCIII. *Benedictio in natali Sancti Swithuni.*][f]

Dñ qvi praesentis diei festiuitatem in Beati Antistitis Suithuni. celebritate

[d] Pontif. Rom. 245 b; Muratori, 873, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 309; Pamel. 504; Menard, 114; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 638, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 178.

[e] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 638, ex cod. Theod.; Missale Gothicum. Muratori, 623, "in" omitted, "gemellum," "caveantur," "placitus," "præviantur," "illic," "per gladium in congresso, per Dominum nostrum." Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Caveantur," "concede huic familiae tuae felicia dona suis indefessis petitionibus optimere X. atque eum de supernis sedibus placatus inspice."

[f] S. Swithun, Bp. of Winchester, died in 862, and his relics were translated to the Cathedral Church by St. Æthelwold. Sim. Dunelm. 159.



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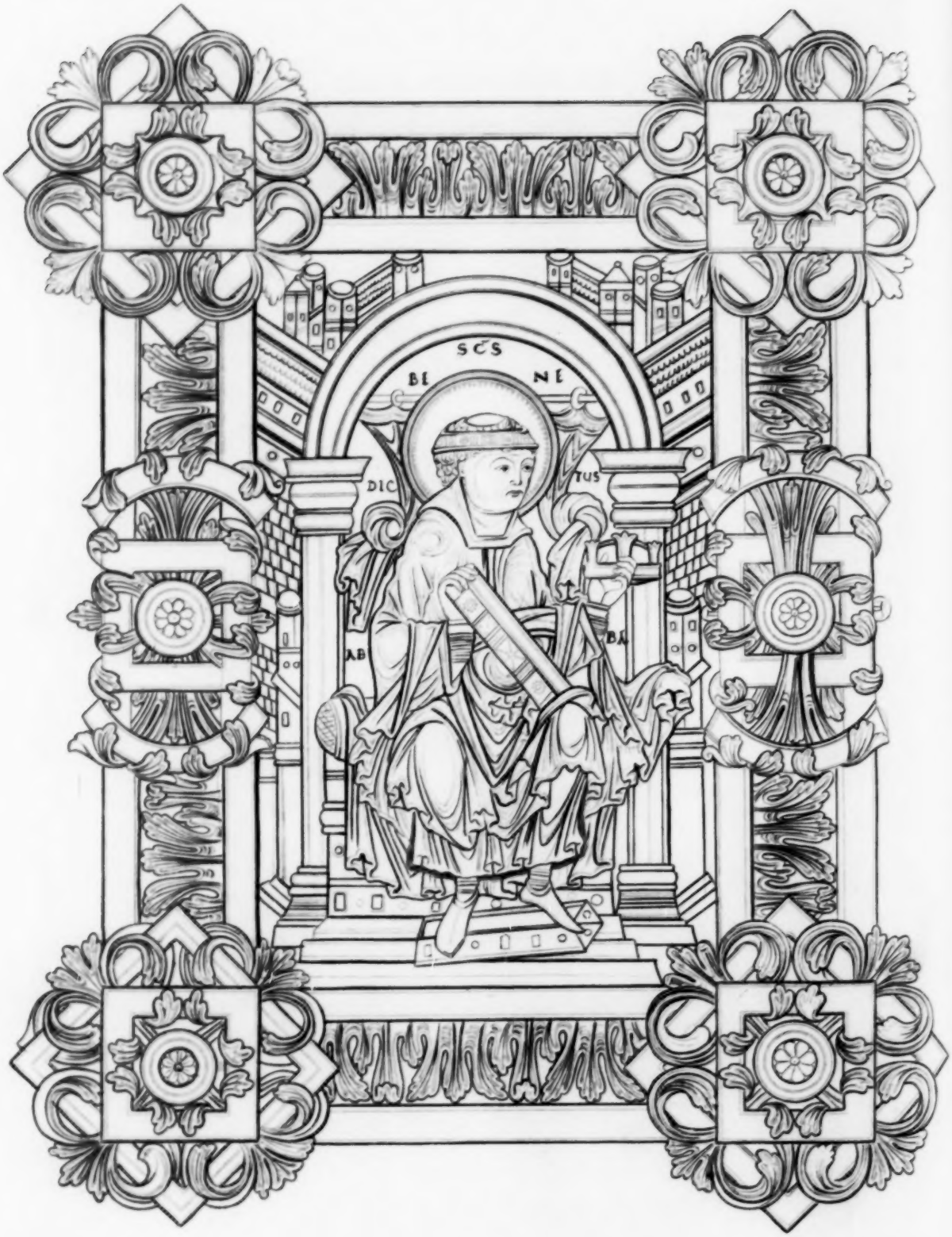

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venerabilem sanxisti. tribue nobis tanti patronis interuentu practicae uitae subsidium. ac aeternae theoricae lucrum. Amen.

Quiq: illum nouissimis ferme mundi temporibus multiplici ac pene ineffabili miraculorum copia ut fidei faculā identidem succender& sčissimū manifestare uoluit. nos uirtutum omnium fecunditate floridos fidei spei caritatisq: rore perfusos. in sčo proposito cum bonis operib: perseuerare concedat. Amen.

Quo pii suffragatoris doctrina irradiati. & multiplici suffragio corroborati. illi in caelesti regione mereamini adiungi. qui hodierna die tripudians caeli secreta penetrauit. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 100, in capital letters of gold, with a rectangular foliated border.]

[XCIV. *Benedictio in natali Sancti Benedicti.*][g]

Omp̄s Dñs uos suę benedictionis dono sčificet. qui beatum Benedictum abbatem primaeuę decoris aetate sibi asciuit. atq: sp̄s sči ardore ad regendam monachicam praeelegit cateruam. Amen.

Sicq: cor uestrum irradi&. ut ea quae in domo Dī ex huius uita patroni recitantur. uiscerabiliter intelligatis. & intelligendo quantotius imitari possitis. Amen.

Quatinus eius exemplis eruditi. necnon & suffragiis muniti. momentum labentis aeui transeatis illesi. atq: in aeterna requie illi cum palma gloriae ualeatis adiungi. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dī patris. & filii. & sps sči. & pax eius sit semper uobiscum. Amen.

[Fol. 101.]

[XCV.] *Benedictio in natale S'c'i Laurentii Mar'.*[h]

Sčae Trinitatis super uos benedictio descendat gratissima. qui beati leuitae Laurentii martyrisq: gloriosi festum. mente celebratis deuotissima. Amen.

[g] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in translatione S'c'i Benē.* St. Benedict, Abbot, Patriarch of the Western Monks, died about the year 543.

[h] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Laurentii Levite," "feliciter." In the Leonine Sacramentary, *in idus Augusti Natale Sancti Laurentii.* See Pruden. Carm. Hymn. p. 888.

Illius mereamini suffragiis fulciri. exemploq: roborari. qui nec seuitia torquentiū frangi. nec inmanissima tormentorū crudelitate. a gloriosissima Xp̃i confessione potuit labi. Amen.

Et qui eum superato diuerso tormentorum genere. caelestem gloriam felici dedit scandere cum triumpho. ipse nobis concedat uigore fidei uitiorū pellere contagia. & cum electis omnib: superindui inmarcescibilis gloriae coronam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur cuius regnum & imperium sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 103, in capital letters of gold within a decorated arch.]

[XCVI. *Benedictio in assumptione Sanctae Mariae.*][i]

Dš qvi per Beatae Mariẹ uirginis partū genus humanum dignatus est redimere. sua uos dignetur benedictione locupletari. Amen.

Eiusq: semper & ubiq: patrocinia sentiatis. ex cuius intemerato utero auctorem uitae suscipere meruistis. Amen.

Et qui ad eius celebrandam festiuitatem hodierna die deuotis mentibus conuenistis. spiritualium gaudiorum. & aeternorū premiorum uobiscum munera reportetis. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 104.]

[XCVII.] *Benedictio in natale S'c'i Bartholomei Ap'li.*[k]

Dš qui ecclam tuā. in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis. q̃s ut beatus

[i] Muratori, 373 ex cod. Othobon. *in festivitate Sanctæ Mariæ;* Lambec. *in nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ;* Menard, 124; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 638, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "suscepisse vos fideliter creditis," "spiritalium;" Missale Leofrici, fo. 186 v. The festival of the Assumption, or *Dormitio* of the Blessed Virgin as it is sometimes styled, was observed in the Spanish and Gallican Churches in the seventh century, and in the Roman Church in the following century, if not earlier. The age of this festival is uncertain.

[k] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 638; in Bened. Roberti, Archiep. the form is different, and begins, "Benedicat vos decus Apostolorum," &c.

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Bartholomeus pro nobis implor& apostolus. ut a nr̃is reatib: absoluti. a cunctis &iam periculis exuam̃. Amen.

Infunde sensib: nr̃is apostoli retinere dogmata. quibus te contemplemur mente serena. Am̃.

Concede propitius circumstanti plebi. ut in illo tremendo discussionis tempore eorum defensetur praesidio. quorum est edocta praecepto. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[F.104 v.] [XCVIII.] *Benedict' de passione S'c'i Iohannis Baptistae.*[1]

Ds̃ qui uos Beati Iohannis Baptistae concedit sollempnia frequentare. tribuat uobis & eadem deuotis mentib: celebrare. & suae benedictionis dona percipere. Amen.

Et qui pro legis eius praeconio carceralib: est retrusus in tenebris. intercessione sua a tenebrosorum operum uos liber& incentiuis. Amen.

Et qui pro ueritate quae ds̃ est caput non est cunctatus amittere. suo interaduentu. ad caput omnium quod Xp̃s est uos faciat peruenire. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol.105.] *Item alia Ben'd'.*

Dñe rege corda plebis tuae per arma iusticiae. ut te adtente diligens. fugiat lasciuias carnis iniquae. Amen.

Absolue culpas eius obtentu Baptistae tui Iohannis. qui pro te interemptus in ergastulo. tecũ exultat in regno. Amen.

Sitq: apud te intercessor pro populo. quem exequasti Heliae meritis. & inter cunctos soboles mundiales. Amen.

[1] Pontif. Rom. 250, *in decollatione S'cti Iohannis Baptistæ;* Muratori, 374, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 310, *de Martyrio;* Pamel. 505; Menard, 127, *Decollatio Sancti Johannis Baptistæ;* Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "quæ Xp's est;" Missale Leofrici, fo. 189.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Benedictio di patris. & filii. & sps sci. & pax eius sit semper uobiscum.

[Fol. 106.] [*Deest folium.*[m]]

suppliciter exoramus. ut qui ex gentibus scam ecclesiam fecundauit in grege. ab omni ea gentilitatis absoluat errore. Amen.

Custodi eam a diri serpentis incursu pietate solita. ut tuo famulatui semper possit esse continua. Amen.

Et qui hac die natiuitatem sacratissimae uirginitatis tuae genitricis Mariae celebramus deuoti. eiusdem nos suffragiis post abiectam carnis sarcinam. ad aeterna iubeas regna perduci. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[F. 106 v.] [XCIX.] *Ben'd' in exaltatione S'c'ae Crucis.*[n]

Ds qui redemisti genus humanum per beatae crucis patibulum. ut quod prius erat scelestis ad paenam. sit conuersis redemptis ad uitam. concede plebi tuae eius saluari praesidio. cuius est armata uexillo. Amen.

Sit ei crux fidei fundamentum. spei suffragium. in aduersis defensio. in prosperis iuuamentum. Amen.

Perseuer&q: in hoste uictoria. in ciuitate concordia. in campo custodia. in domo fultura. ut gregem in futuro conseruet incolumem. quae nobis agno uincente uersa est in salutem. Am̃.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 107.] [C.] *Ben'd' in Nat'l' S'c'i Mathei Apostoli.*

Benedic dñe populũ tuum interueniente Matheo apto. & deuotũ respice. humilitatem uide. gemitus respice. dolentes paterna pietate iube consolari. Am̃.

[m] This benediction for the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin is imperfect at the beginning. It differs from the form in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.

[n] Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 639, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. The forms for this festival given in the Roman Pontifical and in Muratori have some resemblance to that in the text. The feast of the exaltation of the Cross originated with Constantine the Great, as appears from the Greek Menology in Canisius.

Prostratum alleua. dispersum congrega. adunatumq: conserua. esurientem ciba. sitientem pota. omnesq: simul caelestib: donis irriga. dele in eis omnem peccati maculam. ut te gubernante ad gloriam perueniant sempiternam. Amen.

Humiliata tibi omnium capita dexterae tuae benedictione sc̃ifica ac benedicendo peccata relaxa. sc̃iq: sp̃s infunde carismata. ut sine ulla offensione maiestatis tuae praecepta adimpleant. & ad uitam aeternam te auxiliante perueniant. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[F. 107 v.]

[CI.] *Sabbato mensis septimi.*[o]

Benedictionū suarum sup uos dñs imbrem infundat. & orationes ur̃as exaudiat. Amen.

Thesauros misericordiae uobis aperiat. & desideriorum ur̃orum uota suscipiat, quod periit requirat. & uobis quod bonum est tribuat. Amen.

[Fol. 108, in letters of gold, within a decorated arch.]

[CII. *Benedictio in die S. Michaelis Archangeli.*][p]

Mvltiplici vos dñs benedictione locupletet. qui sollempnitate principis archangelorum mundo gaudia infert. Amen.

Et qui deuicto hodierna die hoste antiquo triumphat. suo interuentu molimina eiusdem draconis superare uos faciat. Amen.

Quatinus de animabus uestris caelestia lucra report&. & hymni dicis angelorum choris. perpetua uos exultatione consoci&. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. cuius regnum & imperium. sine fine perman& in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[Fol. 109.]

Item alia Benedict'.[q]

Benedicat uos principium lucis angelorū. quos sibiconciues & consortes fecit in sedibus supernorum. Amen.

[o] The Benediction for *Dominica post ascensionem* in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert bears some resemblance to this form.

[p] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. In the Leonine Sacramentary occurs *Pridie kalendas Octobris, Natale Basilicæ Angeli in Salaria.*

[q] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "D's," "eorum."

Quorum amministratione muniatur in terris uita uřa. & liberati ab hostib: uisibilib: & inuisibilibus. mereamini peruenire ad premia aeterna. Amen.

Inter quorum uenerationē archangeli Michahelis suffulti auxiliis. eius memoriam celebretis hodie deuotissime in aruis. ut illius societate fruamini in astris. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur.

[F. 109 v.]

[CIII.] *Benedictio in sollemp' omnium S'c'orum.*[r]

Omp̃s Dñis laus & uictoria sc̃orum. qui per Mariae uirginis partum triumphaliter genus redemit humunū. benedicere uos dignetur suffragiis omnium sc̃orum. Am̃.

Quiq: apostolorum fidei dogmate. martyrum sanguinis effusione sc̃orum patrum operis exhibitione. ac uirginum castitatis amore. sc̃am ecclesiam flore uirtutum perornat. corda uřa ad eorum exempla uigilanter accendat. Amen.

Ut sicut hodierna die generaliter omnium sc̃orum sollempnitate congratulamini. ita cum fructu boni operis perpetualiter eorū societati ualeatis adiungi. Am̃. Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 110.]

Item alia Ben'd'.[s]

Benedicat uos omp̃s Ds̃. per omnium sc̃orum gloriosissimam intercessionem. & uřam placidissime dignetur suscipere humillimam benedictionem. Amen.

Et quorum in terris corde sincero felicissimū celebratis triumphū. ipsis opitulantib: ad eorum in caelis perduci mereamini desiderabile consortium. Am̃.

Quatinus terreni contagii maculis emundati. ac uirtutum omnium radiantib: lampadibus exornati. & caelestib: coniungi decenter agminibus. & ueniente sponso. ualeatis occurrere cum bonorum operum fulgentibus luminaribus. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[r] Suppl. Ben. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 640, ex cod. S. Theod. In Bened. Roberti, Archiep. the form is different, and begins "Benedicat vos Omnipotens Dominus per omnium sanctorum gloriosissimam intercessionem, &c. This festival was instituted by Gregory III. who succeeded to the pontifical chair in 731.

[s] The substance of this Benediction will be found in Pamele, 505, *in Commemoratione omnium sanctorum*. Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "observationem," "venienti."

[F. 110 v.] [CIV.] *Bened' in nat'l S'c'i Martini episcopi.*[t]

Dñ qui Praesulem tuum Martinum ita praedestinasti. ut eum tuae gratiae perhenniter iuberes adstringi. erige uota populi. qui praetulisti glorioso merita confessori. Amen.

Proficiat his ad fructum. quicquid in sacerdote pro laude tui nominis amplectuntur. Amen.

Et eius intercessione plebs haec consequatur ueniam. qui te remunerante felici seruitio peruenit ad palmam. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 111.] *Bened' in n'l S'c'i Martini ep'i.*

Dñ qui beatissimum praesulem tuum Martinũ tanta tibi familiaritate iunxisti. ut etiam cum adhuc corpore habitar& in terris. iam tunc corde totus esset in caelis. dignare eius intercessione plebem tuam. illas petitiones effundere. quas eligas libenter implere. Aũ.

Et festiuitatem hanc uenisse beneficiis in terris sentiant. quam videre unius uotis in caelis optant. Amen.

Sit ipse confessor huius populi. assiduus custos. qui te uocante hodie penetrauit caelos.

Quod ipse. Amen.

[F. 111 v.] [CV.] *Ben' in n'l S'c'e Ceciliae uirg'.*[x]

Sce Trinitatis super uos descendat benedictio gratissima. qui beatae Caeciliae uirginis martyrisq: suae festiuitatem celebratis mente deuotissima. Amen.

Illius mereamini suffragiis fulciri. eiusq: auxilio roborari. quae nec saeuitia

[t] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Beatum Martinum presulem tuum," "prestasti," "amplectitur pro laude," "hic populus." St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, died, according to the best authorities, in 397. His feast was kept in the Gallican Church during the following century. It does not occur in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

[x] In Bened. Roberti, Archiep. the form is different, and begins "Om'p's D's vestrorum cordium archana purificet, &c. The festival of St. Cecily occurs in the Leonine Sacramentary, in *Natale Sanctae Caeciliae.*

torquentiumfrangi. nec inmanissima tormentorum crudelitate. ac gloriosissima Xp̃i confessione potuit auerti. Amen.

Et qui eam superato diuerso tormentorum genere. caelestem ad gloriam fecit cum triumpho scandere. ipse uos concedat uigore fidei uitiorum contagia pellere. & cum electis omnibus indui inmarcescibilis corona gloriae. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 112.] [CVI.] *Benedictio in n'l̃ S'c' Clementis ep'i.*[y]

Omp̃s Ds̃ uestrorum cordium archana purific&. & benedictionis suae uobis tribuat increm̃ta. qui hodierna die sc̃i Clementis festiuitatem deuote uobis concedit celebrare. Amen.

Ab omnib: eius intercessionibus uitae praesentis periculis exuamini. & uirtutum spiritalium ornamentis induamini. Am̃.

Quo illius adiutorio fulti sic dn̄o seruiatis in terris. ut ei coniungi ualeatis in caelis. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[F. 112 v.] [CVII.] *Benedictio in uig'l̃ S'c'i Andree Ap'li.*[z]

Omp̃s Ds̃ sua uos benedictione locuplet& qui beatū Andream apostolicae dignitatis praeconio sublimauit. Amen.

Concedatq: uobis ipsum habere intercessorem in caelis. cuius deuote praeuenitis in terris diem sollempnitatis. Amen.

Ipsius quoq: interuentu queatis scandere alta caelorum. quo praecessit idem per crucis passionem sequendo dn̄m magistrum. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 113.] *Item in die Ben'.*

Ds̃ qui beatū Andreā apl̃m per passionē crucis ad sedes euexit aethereas. ipse uobis tribuat bonorum operum eundem sequi uestigiis. Amen.

[y] In Bened. Roberti, Archiep. the form is different, and begins "Om'p's D's devotionem v'ram placatus semper accipiat, &c. In the Leonine Sacramentary occurs, *IX. kalendas Decembris Natale Sanctorum Clementis & Felicitatis.* St. Clement, according to Eusebius, died in the year 100.

[z] Bened. Roberti, Archiep. In the Leonine Sacramentary occurs, *Pridie kalendas Decembris Natale Sancti Andreae Apostoli.*

Et quem peculiarem optinere meruistis patronum. ad caelestae ipso intercedente ualeatis felicit̃ pertingere regnum. Amen.

Eundemq: mereamini uidere in caelis regnantem. cuius gratulanter celebratis sollempnissimum diem. Amen.

Quod ipse.

Item alia.[a]

[F. 113 v.] Dñe Ds̃ omp̃s qui gloriosus super sidera sedens almum nobis sidus beatos apostolos reliquisti. quorum speciosam cohortē felici claritate pollentem. prius praeelegisti merito. ut praedestinares in regno. Am̃.

Concede propitius circumstanti plebi crucis tuae muneris signaculum. ut uniuersum super&. aduersae potestatis incursum.

Adiuu& familiam tuam tibi dñe supplicando uenerandus Andreas apostolus. & pius interuentor efficiatur. qui tui nominis extitit praedicator. Amen.

Infunde sensibus eius apostolica dogmata. quo te contempletur. mente serena. Amen.

Ut in illo tremendo discussionis tempore. eius defensetur praesidio. cuius est secuta praeceptum. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 114.] [CVIII.] *Benedictio in N'le S'c'i Thomae Ap'li.*

Custodi qs̃ Dñe gregem tuum. quem congregare dignatus es. ut per intercessionem beati Thomae apostoli. nullus retrorsum ruat. nullus post diabolum reuertatur. Amen.

Sed omnes tua uirtute protecti. uitam aeternam consequi mereantur. Amen.

Ut tecum regnantes in perpetuo. ubi est cum aeterno patre. & sp̃u sc̃o. honor & gloria. in saecula saeculorum. Am̃.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 115.] [CIX.] *In nat'l' unius Ap'li.*[b]

Ds̃ qui uos in apostolicis tribuit consistere fundam̃tis. benedicere uos dignetur. beati ap'li sui *ill'*. intercedentib: meritis. Amen.

[a] Missale Gothicum; Muratori, 560.

[b] Pontif. Rom. 251; Muratori, 376, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 312; Pamel. 506; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

Defendatq: uos a cunctis aduersis apostolicis praesidiis. qui uos eorum uoluit ornari & munerari. exemplis & documentis. Aṁ.

Quo p eorum intercessionem pueniatis ad aeternae patriae hereditatem. per quorum doctrinam tenetis fidei integritatem. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare dignetur. Amen.

[F. 115 v.]

[CX.] *In nat'l' unius mar'.*[c]

Beati martyris sui *ill'*. intercessione uos Dñs benedicat. & ab omni malo defendat. Aṁ.

Extendat in uos dexteram suae propitiationis. qui eum suscepit per supplicia passionis. Aṁ.

Quo eius in caelo mereamini habere consortium. cuius deuotis mentib: in terra celebratis triũphum. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[CXI.] *In natale plurimorum martyrum.*[d]

Benedicat uos Dñs beatorum martyrum suorum. *ill'*. suffragiis & liber& ab aduersitatibus cunctis. Amen.

Commend& uos eorum intercessio gloriosa. quorum in conspectu eius est mors pretiosa. Aṁ.

Et sicut illi per diuersa tormentorum genera caelestis regni sortiti sunt hereditatem. ita uos mereamini eorum consortium per bonorum operum exhibitionem. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[c] Pontif. Rom. 251 b; Muratori, 375, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 312; Pamel. 507; Menard, 162; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.; Missale Leofrici, fo. 205.

[d] Pontif. Rom. 251 b; Muratori, 375, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 312; Pamel. 507; Menard, 165; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "sunt sortiti;" Missale Leofrici, fo. 206.

[Fol. 116.] [CXII.] *Bened' in n'l' unius confessoris ep'i.*[e]

Omp̃s Dñs det uobis copiam suae benedictionis. qui beatum. *ill'*. sibi adsciuit uirtute confessionis. Amen.

Et qui illum fecit coruscare miraculis. uos exorn& bonorum operum incrementis. Amen.

Quo eius & exemplis eruditi. & intercessione muniti. cuius depositionis diem celebratis. illi possitis in caelesti regione adiungi. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[F. 116v.] [CXIII.] *In n'l'l' plurimorum confessor'.*[f]

Sc̃orum confessorũ suorum. *ill'*. meritis uos Dñs faciat benedici. & contra aduersa omnia eorum intercessione muniri. Am̃.

Eorum uos efficiat suffragio felices. quorum festivitatis diem celebratis ouantes. Amen.

Quo eorum imitantes exempla. ad caelestia peruenire possitis promissa. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[Fol. 117.] [CXIV.] *Bened' in na'l' uniu' uirginis non mart'.*

Benedicat uobis Ds̃ nr̃i oris alloquio. & cor uestrum sinceri amoris copul& nexu perpetuo. Amen.

Floreatis rerum praesentium copiis. iustitia adquisitis. gaudeatis perhenniter fructibus sincerissimae caritatis. Am̃.

Tribuat uobis Ds̃ dona perhennia interueniente beata. *ill.* uirgine sua. ut post tempora feliciter dilatata. percipiatis gaudia sempiterna. Amen.

Quod ipse.

[e] Pontif. Rom. 251 b; Muratori, 376 ex cod. Othobon. in *Natale unius Confessoris*; Lambec. 313; Pamel. 507; Menard, 166, in *Nat. unius Confessoris*; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 641, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "Copiosam benedictionem; Missale Leofrici, fo. 207.

[f] Pontif. Rom. 251 b; Muratori, 376, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 313; Pamel. 507; Menard, 169; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. "imitamini," "horum interventu;" Missale Leofrici, fo. 208.

[F. 117 v.] [CXV.] *Bened' in nat'l' unius uirginis et martyris.*[g]

Benedicat uos Dñs qui beatae uirgini. *ill'*. concessit. & decorum uirginitatis. & gloriam passionis. Amen.

Et cuius opitulatione illa meruit & sexus fragilitatem. & persequentium rabiem deuincere. uos possitis & uŕorum corporum illicebras. & antiqui hostis machinamenta superare. Amen.

Quo sicut illa sexu fragili uirile nisa est certamen adire. & post certamen de hostib: triumphare. ita uos in hac mortalitate uiuentes: ualeatis & antiquum hostem deuincere. & ad regna caelestia peruenire. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

[Fol. 118.] [CXVI.] *Bened' in nat'l' plurimarum uirginum.*[h]

Omp̃s Dñs. intercedentibus sc̃is uirginibus suis. uos dignetur benedicere. qui de antiquo hoste. non solum per uiros. uerum etiam p feminas uoluit triumphare. Amen.

Et qui illis uoluit centesimi fructus donum decoremq: uirginitatis. & agonem martyrii conferre. uos dignetur & uitiorum squalorib: expurgare. & uirtutum lampadibus exornare. Amen.

Quatinus uirtutum oleo ita peccatorum urorum lampades possint repleri. ut cum eis caelestis sponsi thalamum ualeatis ingredi.

Quod ipse.

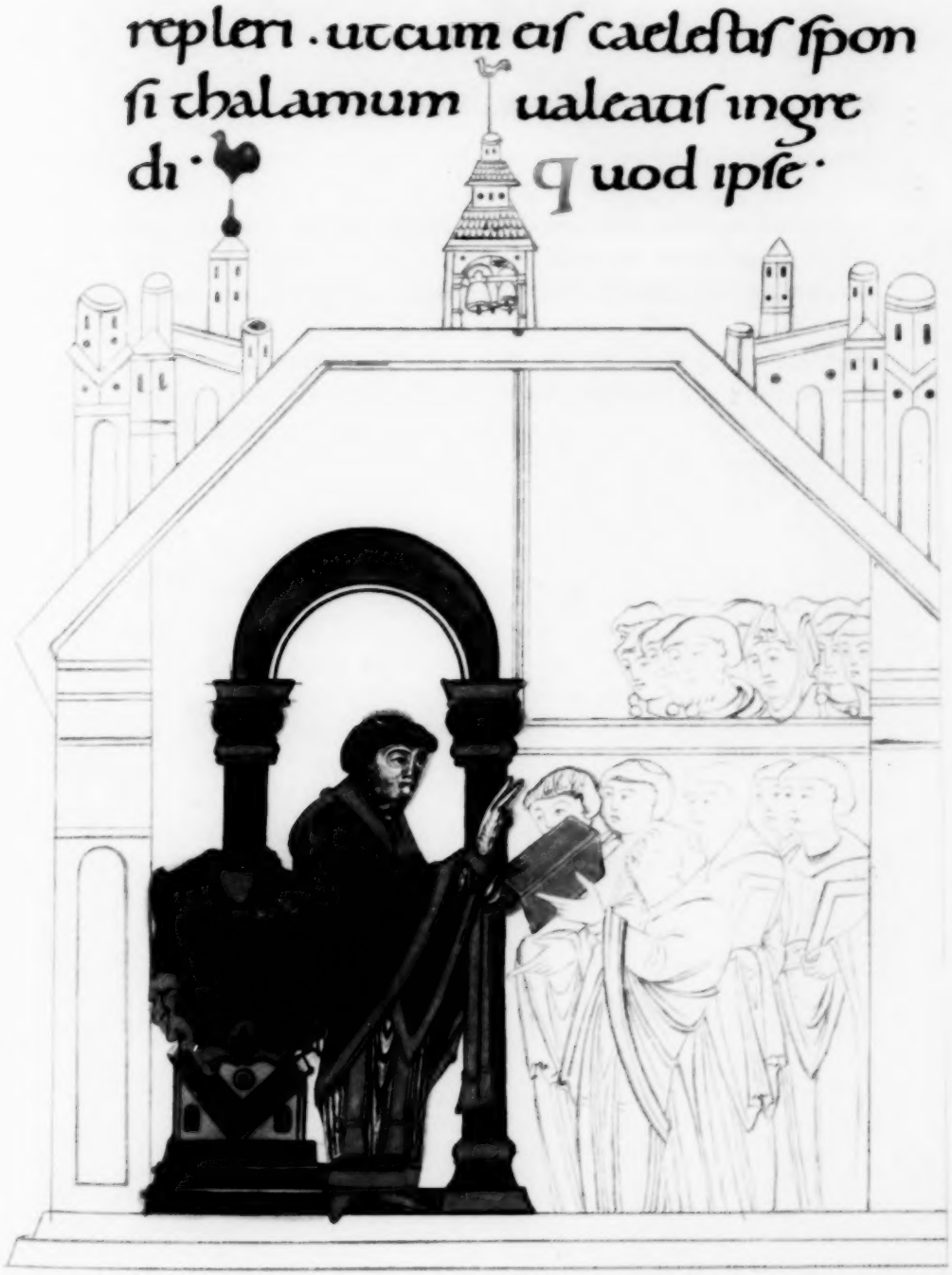
[Fol. 119.] [CXVII.] *Bened' in dedicatione eccl'ae.*[i]

Benedicat et custodiat uos omp̃s Ds̃ domumq: hanc sui. muneris praesentia

[g] Pontif. Rom. 251 b, *in festivitate unius virginis;* Muratori, 376, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 313; Pamel. 508; Menard, 172, *in Nat. Virginum;* Missale Leofrici, fo. 209.

[h] Pontif. Rom. 252; Muratori, 376, ex cod. Othobon.; Lambec. 314; Pamel. 508; Menard, 172; Bened. Roberti, Archiep.

[i] Pamel. 514; Menard, 158; Suppl. Bened. Op. S. Greg. Mag. tom. iii. fo. 641, ex cod. S. Theod.; Bened. Roberti, Archiep. *in ord. ded. eccl.;* occurrit inter *præf. et post Comm.*



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April, 1836.

G. F. Burn, sc.

illustrare atq: suae pietatis oculos super eam die ac nocte dignetur aperire. Amen.

Concedatq: propitius ut omis qui ad dečationem huius basilicae deuote conuenistis. intercedente beato. *ill*. & ceteris sčis suis. quorum reliquiae hic pio uenerantur amore. uobiscum hinc ueniam peccatorū uŕorum. reportare ualeatis. Amen.

Quatinus eorum interuentu. ipsi templum sči sps. in quo sča Ds Trinitas ingiter habitare dignet^r efficiamini. & post huius uitae labentis excursum. ad gaudia aeterna feliciter peruenire mereamini.

Quod ipse.

II. *A Description of a Benedictional, or Pontifical, called "Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi," an illuminated Manuscript of the tenth century, in the Public Library at Rouen; communicated as an accompaniment to St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, by* JOHN GAGE, *Esq. F.R.S. Director, in a Letter to the Right Hon.* GEORGE, EARL OF ABERDEEN, *President, &c.*

Read 9th February, 1832.

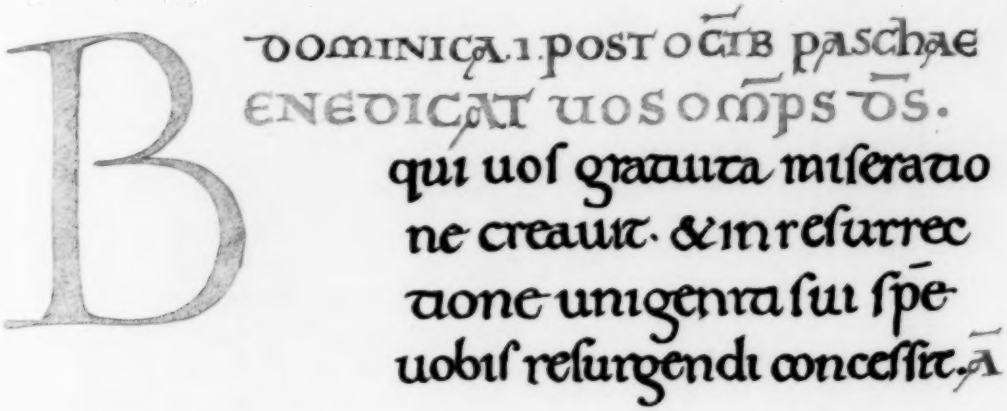
THE Vellum MS. numbered 27, in the Public Library at Rouen, called the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, is a folio, in wood binding, covered with boar-skin leather, measuring twelve inches and three quarters, by nine and a quarter, and contains one hundred and ninety one leaves, beside a fly-leaf on which there is a note by Monsieur l'Abbe Saas, with his signature, and the date 1738. It is illuminated with miniatures, foliated and architectural borders, and capitals and letters of gold: the whole in fine preservation.

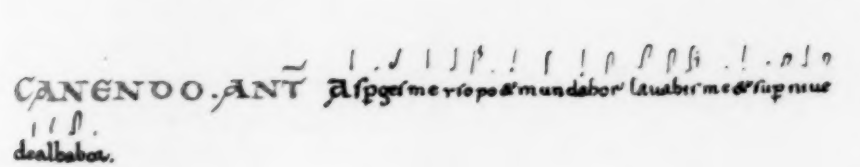
The text, of which a fac-simile is here given from the pencil of Monsieur Langlois, is what printers term Roman lower-case, with some Saxon characters intermixed. The book is a Pontifical, as well as a Benedictional, and contains, among other ceremonials, the form of consecration of our Anglo-Saxon kings; but I proceed to describe the MS. in order.

Fol. 1. On the recto of this leaf is a title in Roman letters, "*Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi.*" It is not original, nor does it seem of much antiquity: there is an erasure after the last word, and below, in the hand-writing of Monsieur Saas, is added, "Cantuariensis. V. Neustriã Piam, p. 309." The erasure and the addition shall be noticed hereafter.

Fol. 2, 3, 4. On these pages are written extracts from St. Ambrose, de Sacramentis and St. Hilary, de Trinitate, and a formula of faith touching the Eucharist, an insertion apparently of the 13th century.

Ex Libro Benedic: Roberti Archiepiscopi
in Bibl. Publ. Rothomag. Nu. 27.





Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 28th April 1853

The book is divided into three parts, with an index to each; and here occurs the first index, commencing on the reverse of fol. 4, and ending on fol. 6. The text is original; the heading and figures are in red, and the initial letters in gold.

Fol. 4, 5, 6. —— " Incipiunt Capitula p anni Circulum.

I. Benedictio in Vigilia Natalis Xp̃i.
II. Benedictio in nocte ad missam.
III. Benedictio in primo mane.
IIII. Benedictio in die natalis Xp̃i.
V. Benedictio in octavis Dñi.
VI. Benedictio in Domc̃a I. p⁹ natl. Xp̃i.
VII. Benedictio in Theophania Dñi.
VIII. Benedictio in Domc̃a I. p⁹ Epiph̃.
IX. Benedictio in Dñica secunda.
X. Benedictio in Dñica tertia.
XI. Benedictio in Dñica quarta.
XII. Benedictio in Dñica quinta.
XIII. Benedictio in Dñica sexta.
XIIII. Benedictio in septuagesima.
XV. Benedictio in sexagesima.
XVI. Benedictio in quinquagesima.
XVII. Benedictio cinerũ in capite ieiunii.
XVIII. Benedictio in die ad missam.
XIX. Benedictio initio xl.
XX. Benedictio in Dominica ii.
XXI. Benedictio in Dominica iii.
XXII. Benedictio Dominica quarta in xl.
XXIII. Benedictio Dominica quinta in xl.
XXIIII. Benedictio ad ramos palmarũ.
XXV. Item alia.
XXVI. Benedictio ipso die ad missam.
XXVII. Item alia de passione Xp̃i.
XXVIII. Consecratio crismatis & olei in coena Dñi.

XXIX. Benedictio ad mandatum ipso die.
XXX. Benedictio in sabbato sc̃o.
XXXI. Benedictio in die Sc̃ae Paschae.
XXXII. Item alia eodem die.
XXXIII. Benedictio in secunda feria.
XXXIIII. Benedictio in tertia feria.
XXXV. Benedictio in quarta feria.
XXXVI. Benedictio in quinta feria.
XXXVII. Benedictio in sexta feria.
XXXVIII. Benedictio in septima feria.
XXXIX. Benedictio in octavis Paschae.
XL. Benedictio in i Dom̃ca p⁹ octab̃ paschę.
XLI. Benedictio Dom̃ca ii. p⁹ octb̃ paschę.
XLII. Benedictio Dom̃ca iii. p⁹ octb̃ paschę.
XLIII. Benedictio in Laetania maiore.
XLIIII. Item alia in tertia feria.
XLV. Item alia in quarta feria.
XLVI. Benedictio in die Ascensionis Xp̃i.
XLVII. Benedictio post Ascensionem Xp̃i.
XLVIII. Benedictio in Vigilia Pentecosten.
XLIX. Benedictio in die Sc̃o Pentecosten.
L. Benedictio per totam septimanā.
LI. Benedictio octavis Pentecosten.
LII. Item alia.
LIII. Benedictio Dominica i. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LIIII. Benedictio Domc̃a ii. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LV. Benedictio Domc̃a iii. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LVI. Benedictio Domc̃a iiii. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LVII. Benedictio Domc̃a v. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LVIII. Benedictio Domc̃a vi. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LIX. Benedictio Domc̃a vii. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LX. Benedictio Domc̃a viii. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.
LXI. Benedictio Domc̃a ix. p⁹ octb̃ Peñ.

LXII. Benedictio Domča x. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXIII. Benedictio Domča xi. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXIIII. Benedictio Domča xii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXV. Benedictio Domča xiii. p⁹ octb̄. Peñ.
LXVI. Benedictio Domča xiiii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXVII. Benedictio Domča xv. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXVIII. Benedictio Domča xvi. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXIX. Benedictio Domča xvii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXX. Benedictio Domča xviii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXI. Benedictio Domča xix. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXII. Benedictio Domča xx. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXIII. Benedictio Domča xxi. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXIIII. Benedictio Domča xxii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXV. Benedictio Domča xxiii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXVI. Benedictio Domča xxiiii. p⁹ octb̄ Peñ.
LXXVII. Benedictio de Adventu Ihū Xp̄i.
LXXVIII. Benedictio Domča ii. adveñ Dñi.
LXXIX. Benedictio Domča iii. advenī Xp̄i.
LXXX. Benedictio in Domča quʳ ante natlē ē.
LXXXI. Benedictio in ieiuniis quatuor tep̄or.
LXXXII. Item alia feria iiii. de ieiunio.
LXXXIII. Item alia Sabbato de ieiunio.

Fol. 7. Two benedictions, one for Advent, the other for the Nativity, have been inserted in an early hand on the leaf preceding the text. The initial letters are wanting to these forms, the first words of which are—

'mnp̄s Dš qui unigenitū filium suum misit in terris in similitudine carnis, &c.

's qui hanc diem incarnati verbi luce fecit splendescere, &c.

Fol. 8. On the recto of this leaf begins the Benedictional,—

Benedictio ad missam
in vigilia Natalis Ih'u Xp'i.

The heading and the responses are in red; the initials in gold; the first words, *Om'p's D's*, forming a large capital. This is the general style of the MS. and each full page contains twenty-two lines.

Fol. 8 v. usque ad fol. 40.

The benedictions follow in the order of the index. A leaf is wanting with the conclusion of the benediction *In primo mane natalis Domini*, which probably had on the reverse a miniature of the Nativity. The benediction for that festival fol. 9, and the Pascal benediction fol. 22, and the form for the Ascension fol. 28, and for Pentecost fol. 30, are written throughout the page in letters of gold, the first three within a rectangular flowered border or frame-work, the last within an ornamented arch. As a frontispiece to the Pascal benediction is a miniature of the Maries visiting the tomb after the Resurrection, and facing the benediction for Pentecost is a miniature of the descent of the Holy Ghost. On the miniatures and decorations I shall say a few words presently.

The benedictions for the year, in this MS. are all contained in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional; excepting the forms for the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent, for *tertia feria in Laetania maiore*, the Sunday after the Ascension, and the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost, and excepting in *Consecratio crismatis olei*, *Benedictio cinerum*, and *Benedictio ad ramos palmarum*.

Fol. 40 v. *Sermo Diaconi pro reconciliatione poenitentium*, follows, being an insertion of later date.

Fol. 42 v. Here follows the index to the second part of the Benedictional.

Incipiunt capitula de festivitatibus Sc̃oř.

I. Benedictio in natale Sc̃i Stephani.
II. Benedictio in natale Sc̃i Iohannis.
III. Benedictio in natale Sc̃or. Innocentū.
IIII. Benedictio in natale Sc̃i Sebastiani.
V. Benedictio Sc̃ę Agnetis.
VI. Benedictio in Conversione Sc̃i Pauli Apłi.
VII. Benedictio in purificatione Sc̃ę Marię.
VIII. Benedictio ad missam eodem die.
IX. Benedictio in natale Sc̃ae Agathae.
X. Benedictio in cathedra Sc̃i Petri Apłi.
XI. Benedictio in natale Sc̃i Gregorii.
XII. Benedictio in adnuntiatione Sc̃ae Mař.
XIII. Benedictio de inventione Sc̃ae Crucis.
XIIII. Benedictio in vigilia Sc̃i Iohannis p̃curš.
XV. Benedictio in nativitate Sc̃i Iohannis.

XVI. Benedictio in vigilia Apłor. Petri & Pauli.
XVII. Benedictio in natale eorundē Apłor.
XVIII. Benedictio in natale Sči Grimboldi.
XIX. Benedictio in natale Sči Benedicti Abb.
XX. Benedictio in vigilia Sči Laurentii Levitę.
XXI. Benedictio in natale Sči Laurentii.
XXII. Benedictio in assumptione Sčae Mariae.
XXIII. Benedictio in natale Sči Bartholomei.
XXIIII. Benedictio in decollatione Sči Iohannis.
XXV. Benedictio in nativitate Sčae Marię.
XXVI. Benedictio in exaltatione Sčę Crucis.
XXVII. Benedictio in festivitate Sči Michaelis.
XXVIII. Item alia de eodem Sčo Archangelo.
XXIX. Benedictio in festivitate Omniū Sčoř.
XXX. Item alia de eodem celebritate.
XXXI. Benedictio in natale Sči Martini Ep̄i.
XXXII. Benedictio in natale Sčae Ceciliae.
XXXIII. Benedictio in natale Sči Clementis.
XXXIIII. Benedictio in vigilia Sči Andreę Apłi.
XXXV. Benedictio in natale Sči Andreę.
XXXVI. Benedictio in deposit. Sči Iudoci.
XXXVII. Benedictio in vigilia Apostolorum.
XXXVIII. Benedictio in natale Apostolorum.
XXXIX. Benedictio in natale unius Martyris.
XL. Benedictio in natł plurimoř Martyrū.
XLI. Benedictio in natł unius Confessoř.
XLII. Benedictio in natł plurimoř Confessoř.
XLIII. Benedictio in natł unius Virginis ñ Martyř.
XLIIII. Benedictio in natł virginis martyř.
XLV. Benedictio in natł plurimoř Viř.
XLVI. Benedictio Dominicis diebus p annū. [a]
XLVII. Item alia Dominicis diebus. [b]

[a] D's lumen verum qui primo die, &c.

[b] Benedicat vos Trinitas divina maiestas, &c.

XLVIII. Benedictio in secunda feria.[c]
XLIX. Benedictio in tertia feria.[d]
L. Benedictio in quarta feria.[e]
LI. Benedictio in quinta feria.[f]
LII. Benedictio in sexta feria de Cruce.[g]
LIII. Benedictio in Sabbato.[h]
LIIII. Benedictio in monasterio Monachorum.[i]
LV. Benedictio cotidie in matutinū.[k]
LVI. Benedictio cotidiana ad vesperā.[l]
LVII. Benedictio cotidiana ad completoriū.[m]
LVIII. Benedictio sup Regē in tp̄r Sinodi.[n]
LIX. Benedictio sup Regē cotidiana.[o]
LX.[p] Benedictio in ordinatione Ep̄i.[q]
LXI. Benedictio in ordinatione Prb̄i.[r]
LXII. Benedictio in ordinatione Diaconi.[s]
LXIII. Benedictio in dissolutione Sinodi.[t]
LXIIII. Benedictio post confirmationem.[u]
LXV. Benedictio pro iter agentibus.[x]
LXVI. Benedictio in tempore pestilentiae.[y]
LXVII. Benedictio in tempore belli.[z]

c D's principium omnium creaturarum, &c.
d Om'p's D's rerum omnium formator, &c.
e Benedicat et inluminat Om'p's D's, &c.
f D's aeternae bonitatis qui quinto die, &c.
g Benedicat vos D'i patris clementia qui sexto die, &c.
h D's qui sex diebus, &c.
i Om'p's D'n's s'c'ar' mentium habitator, &c.
k Nunquam deseras D'ne, &c.
l Ad custodiendum gregem, &c.
m Inmittat in vos D'n's quietem sancti soporis, &c.
n Benedicat tibi D'n's. semperque te in omnibus custodiat, &c.
o Benedic D'ne hunc clementissimum Regem cum universo populo, &c.
p In the original LXX. and so by mistake counting to the end.
q D's Bened. omnium largus infundor, &c.
r Benedictionum omnium largitor, &c.
s Om'p's D's qui in vetere lege, &c.
t Xp's D'i filius qui est initiu' & finis, &c.
u Benedicat uobis om'p's D'n's qui cuncta ex nihilo creavit, &c.
x Om'p's D's cuius misericordia ubique cognoscitur, &c.
y Dignare D'ne D's n'r caelestem super populum impertire, &c.
z Om'p's D's triumphator, &c.

LXVIII. Benedictio in visitatione infirmoř.[a]
LXIX. Benedictio pro defunctis frĩbus.[b]
LXX. Absolutio poenitentis a presule danda.

Occasional additions have been made to the index.

Fol. 45, usque ad fol. 81.

The second part of the Benedictional begins at fol. 45, and extends to fol. 81. The *Benedictio in vigilia S. Laurentii*, noticed in the index, does not occur in the text, and the *Benedictio Sponsi* in the text is omitted in the index. In this portion of the MS. there is one miniature, and there is also one page with a decorated arch: these occur on the reverse of fol. 54, and on the recto of the opposite page. The subject of the miniature is the death of the Blessed Virgin, the benediction for which is written throughout in letters of gold.

In this Benedictional, and in St. Æthelwold's, the forms for the course of the year vary little from each other, but there is more variation in the forms for the Saints' feasts, and these are more numerous in the one than in the other. In place of the benedictions of St. Swithin and St. Ætheldrytha are forms for the feasts of St. Grimbald and St. Iudoc, the only two Saints in the English Calendar whose festivals occur in this book: these forms I subjoin.

Ben'd. in Nat'l. S'c'i Grimbaldi C'nf'i'.

Benedic Dñe omnē hanc plebem beatissimi Grimbaldi Confessoris sollempnitate congregatam. atque fulgidis illius exemplis roboratam. Caelestis beatitudinis albo fac dignantur esse ascriptā. A.

Quique illum hodierna die ad caelestem cum tripudio evixisti catervam. plebem hanc respice placatus tibi subjectā. tantique interventu patronis a peccatorum omnium squaloribus clementer concede fore absolutam. Amen.

Sic que eos labentes evi transigere tribue prosperitatē ut cum in mundi defectu. iudex adveneris cunctorum. non eos collegio dampnes reorū. sed omnium concives esse concede Sanctorum. AM'.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur cuius regnū & imperium sine fine permanet. (Fol. 52 v.)

[a] D's qui socrum Simonis, &c.
[b] D's que' trinum in personis & coeterna divinitate, &c.

B'd. in transitu almi Iudoci C'nf'i'.

Dñe Dš omniū gratiarū Benedicere dignare omnem hunc populum tuum qui in honore tuo divinis familiariter officiis & quicquid Sčo Confessori tuo Iudoco hodierna die profuit ad beatitudinem prosit huic familiae ad exemplum. Amen.

Et ipso beato Confessore intercedente. sit meis fides recta. imitabilis forma. castissima sobrietas. hospitalis caritas. spūalis prudentia. alta sapientia. mens humilis. vita sublimis. Amen.

Ut cum ante tremendum iudicii diem in conspectu tuo adstiterint per sacri Confessoris venerabilem interventionem. non dampnandam sed mitem ex ore tuo audiant absolutionis sententiam. Amen.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur. (Fol. 62.)

Fol. 81v. The Episcopal Absolution, fol. 78, begins, *Incipit absolutio dicenda ab E'po super conversum et poenitentem qui conversus prosternatur coram altare. et decantet psalmu' quinquagesimum. Si autem est idiota. ex intimo corde crebro dicat.* Dš miserere mihi peccatori servo tuo. *Et faciat Episcopus letanias super eum. et haec sequuntur.* The form agrees with Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. ordo ii. ad reconciliandos pœnitentes, *feria V. in cœna Domini.* tom. i. fo. 771, ex MS. Pontificali Anglicano monasterii Gemeticensis cujus caracter annos circiter nongentos refert.

An early insertion occurs after the episcopal absolution, entitled, *Ordo p'cessionis quando Ep's festivis diebus missa' celebrare voluerit ita ut ab antiquis patribus occidentaliu' institutione e' constituf'.* The following extract may very properly be made from it:

" *Cu'q: Ep's* Pat' n'r *finierit accipiens subdiaconus patenam ab acolyto offerat ea' archidiacono. ille aute' ut Ep's dicat* Da p̃pitius pacem. *patena' illi accommodans humeru' ei' osculet.*

" *Statiq' Ep'o dicente* p̃ omĩa sčla sčlorū *accipiat Benedictionale' libru' & c'versus ad populu' dicat.* Humiliate vos ad benedictionem. *Et cleric' respondente* Dō grās *porrigat Ep'o librum. Expleta auf benedictione veniens Pr'b'r recipiat pace' ab Ep'o.*"

Fol. 83v. This is followed by a further addition to the original MS. from the Canon

of the Mass. St. Hippolitus is joined with the names of the Saints invoked in the Canon of the Gregorian Sacramentary.

Fol. 86v. The Index to the third part of the book, is as follows:

De ecclesię & rerū consecratione ecclesiasticar̃.

Missa in die Dedicationis ecłę cū benedict̃.

Missa p edificante ecłam cū benedictione.

Consecratio cymeterii cū missa cōpeteñi.

Benedictio ad signum ecłe hoc ē tintinnū.

Consecratio crucis Dñi quae aquà benedicta lavetur.

Consecratio scrinii vel arcae.

Dedicatio fontis in quo baptizandi sunt fideles.

Reconciliatio sacri loci ubi sanguis fuerit effusus aut homicidiū pactū cum missa congrua & benedictioñ.

Oratio ad capillaturā & ad clericū faciend.

Oratio ad barbam tondendam.

Ordo de VII. ecclesiasticis gradibus id ē Hostiarius. Lector. Exorcista. Acolitus. Subdiaconus. Diaconus. Presbiter. consecratio sup presulē animarū. i. Episc̃.

Ordo ad abbatem benedicendū.

Ordinatio monachorum.

Benedictio vestium virginis atque consecratio vestium viduae.

Consecratio Regis cum benedictione congrua.

Consecratio Reginae.

Fol. 87v, usque ad fol. 93. *Sermo ad populum de Dedicatione*[c] has been prefixed in an early hand, as an introduction to the pontifical forms. It would be foreign to our present purpose to give more than a general notice of these forms, in the order in which they occur, distinguishing such circumstances as bear on the English custom of Episcopal benediction, or serve to illustrate St. Æthelwold's Benedictional.

Fol. 95. The third part, therefore, of the book begins with *Ordo qualiter domus D'i consecranda est* on the recto of fol. 95, which form agrees for the most part

[c] Natalem templi huius diem fr'es delectissimi, &c. See Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. ii. 786.

with ordo iii. for the same occasion. ex MS. Pontif. Angl. monast. Gemet. —Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. ii. fol. 695. In the Litany used in this service occur the names of the following saints belonging to the English Calendar: Oswald, the martyr; Judoc; Cuthbert; Swithin; Grimbald; and Ætheldrytha. In the *Missa de Dedicatione,* the benediction of the people is the same as the form contained in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, and it comes in order between the *Preface* and the *Post Communio;* and in *Missa in Reconciliatione Eccl'e,* the benediction occurs in the same place, proving that the blessing was given before communion. The antiphons in this ordo are all set to music: a fac-simile of the *Asperges me, Domine,* is annexed.

Fol. 118 v, 119, 122, 124. *Missa pro edificante ecclesiam; Consecratio Cymeterii; ad Signum ecclesie benedicendum; Consecratio Crucis.*—These several forms following in order differ considerably from the forms in Martene.

Fol. 127. *Benedictio Scrinii, v. arcae.*—See Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. ii. p. 830, ordo i. ad benedicendum scrinium vel arcum, ex MS. Pontif. Angl. monas. Gemet. with which this ordo agrees.

Fol. 129, 131. *Dedicatio fontis; Reconciliatio loci ubi sanguis fuerit effusus; Missa in reconciliatione eccl'ae.*

Fol. 132. *Oratio ad capillaturam.*—See Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. ii. p. 186, ord. xii. ex duobus MS. Pontif. Beccensis monast. with which this oratio conforms.

Fol. 132 v. *Oratio ad clericum faciendum.*—See Martene, ibid. 187.

Fol. 133, usque ad fol. 150. *Ad barbam tondendam; oratio post rasam barbam.*—See Martene, ibid. *Ordo de sacris ordinibus benedicendis, ordinatio Hostiarii; ordinatio Lectoris; ordinatio Exorciste;*[d] *ordinatio Acoliti; ordinatio Subdiaconi; ordinatio Diaconi; ordinatio Presbiteri; ordinatio Episcopi.*[e]—See Martene, ibid. 174, ex iisdem MS. Becc. monast. where corresponding forms will be found.

[d] The two prayers, *Accipite,* are omitted in the MS., as well as the prayer, *Deum Patrem Omnipotentem,* immediately following. The prayer, *Domine qui in hunc mundum,* begins, Domine S'c'ae Pater Om'p's aeterne D's qui, &c.

[e] In the ordinatio Episcopi, at *Hic mittatur in Cathedram Episcopalem* after the prayer, Om'p's Pater sancte D's aeterne, tu omnem ordinem, &c. then follows in the MS. D'ne Ih'u Xp'e tu preelegisti, &c., and Populus te honoret, &c.—See Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit tom. ii. 114, 115, ex MS. Pontif. Angl. monast. Gemet.

Fol. 150 v. *Benedictio abbatis ; ordinatio monachorum.*

Fol. 156. *Benedictio vestiu' virginis.*—See Martene, tom. ii. p. 530,[f] ordo ii. Benedic. uirg. monial. ex MS. Pontif. Angl. monast. Gemet.

Fol. 160. *Benedictio vestis vidue.*

Fol. 162. *Incipit consecratio Regis. Anglorum vel Saxonum.* "Respice propitius ad preces nr̃ae humilitatis. & super hunc famulum tuum *N* quem supplici devotione in regnū Anglorum sive Saxonum pariter eligim: benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica. eumque dextera tuae potentiae semper ubiq: circumda."

Fol. 170. *Incipit consecratio Reginae.*

These forms for the consecration of the King and Queen of England, correspond generally with ordo V. *Ad Benedicendum Regem Francorum*, ex MS. codice Ratoldi Abbatis Corbeiensis.—Martene, tom. ii. p. 604. There are, however, some variations between them.

The original MS. here concludes, and the matter which follows has been all added at different times, at the end of the eleventh and during the twelfth century.

Fol. 171 v. *Missa ad sponsa' benedicendam, cum benedictione intra missarum solemnia et aliis benedictionibus.*

Fol. 175. *Oratio ante celebrationem Concilii, et ad finem cum benedictionibus.*

Fol. 176 v. *Ordo ad Concilium celebrandum, cum professione fidei.*

This ordo belongs to the Church of Rouen: I extract from it the following injunction—"oportet etiā fr̃es kn̄ii ut fides vr̃a de corpore & sanguine Dn̄ii quā p̄sidente huic sc̄ę sedi venerabilis memorię Maurilio comuni assensu contra spurcissimas Berengarii eiᵒq: sequen̄ latrat' voces diffinistis iterum recitēt."

It must be observed that Maurilius was consecrated Archbishop of Rouen in 1055, and died in 1067.[g]

Fol. 180. *Incipit officium ad ducem constituendum.* This form differs from Ordo ad benedicendum ducem, Martene, tom. ii. p. 663.

Fol. 185. *Benedictiones variae de tempore.*

Fol. 187. *Alphabetum Graecum.*

[f] The form begins with *Deus qui vestimentum salutare,* followed by *Deus bonarum virtutum dator,* with some variations. The prayer *Te invocamus* is omitted.

[g] Gallia Christiana, tom. xi. p. 30.

Fol. 188. *Ordinatio Episcopi suffragensis metropolitanae Rothomagensis Ecclesiae.*

Fol. 191 v. *Oratio ad inthronizationem Episcopi.*

At the bottom of the last page occurs the following memorandum of persons to be cited, and of other persons to be excommunicated, written, it would seem, in the reign of King Henry II.[h]

"Hi st vocandi—Guillmi de Arcis. Fili9 Hubti. Roger9 Arundel. Guillm9 de Vernū.

"Hi st excommunicandi—Rob9 fil9 Helgonis. Guillm9 de Poileio. Gunfrid9 de Falesia. Gualter9. Diacon9 de Sco Leodicario. Herbt9 de Totsimilit. Goiffrid9 de Comavil. Filia Heltonis. Filia Ansguoldi. Ricardus de Fonte. Filia Vinzelini. Radulphus de Argento. De filiabus Ansguold quarū unā habet Ricard9 alteram Gislebertus. Monachi pecuniā habentes."

On comparing together the writing of St. Æthelwold's and Archbp. Robert's Benedictionals, they both appear to have been written about the same time: no difference is perceptible between them, excepting what might be looked for in MSS. by different scribes.

The decorations of the Benedictionals are also very similar, though the capital letters throughout this MS. are less splendid. In respect to the three miniatures which it contains, the general design, as well as the style of each of them, correspond so remarkably with the miniatures in the other MS. that, if not painted by Godeman himself, they certainly come from the same school; and I have other grounds for thinking that this MS. was written by the monks of Winchester. To shew the correspondence between the miniatures of the two Benedictionals, these remarks are accompanied by a tracing from the pencil of a young artist of merit, Mr. Froom Smallwood, of the first miniature in the MS., the Maries visiting the tomb after the Resurrection. It varies in some respects from the miniature of the same subject in St. Æthelwold's MS.; for example, the parts of the tomb here occupy less space, and are confined to the left side of the picture; the guards, which in St. Æthelwold's MS. are stand-

[h] Richard, Bishop of Coutance in 1152, is a witness to the grant made by William de Vernon of lands to the Church of Montesburgh. Gall. Christ. tom. xi. In the 7th Henry II. Roger Arundel answered forty pounds for the Knights' fees he then held. Rot. Pip. 7 Hen. II. dors.

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G. F. Sturm. sc.

ing behind the tomb, here occupy the foreground, sleeping. The angel and the females, as well in their attitude as in the distribution of the figures, are as nearly as possible the same in both works, save that in St. Æthelwold's MS. the hands of one of the females which are shewn, do not appear in the other. The accuracy of Mr. Smallwood's tracing has, since my return to England, been confirmed by two other tracings kindly sent to me from Rouen by Mons. Hyacinthe Langlois, one by his own hand, the other by a pupil; and from the whole, Mr. Storm has executed his spirited etching.

The designs in the two MSS. of the descent of the Holy Ghost, vary most from each other. In both, the dove is represented as descending from above and pouring forth from his beak streams of fire upon the Apostles, who are sitting, with heads uplifted, in a circle below. In both, the same likeness of St. Peter is preserved, and he is seen, with the tonsure and without a beard, holding the double keys; and the miniatures, in both MS., have nearly similar arched frame-works, or borders. But, in St. Æthelwold's MS., angels accompany the dove in his descent, the sky is clear, and the stream of fire falls without interruption on the heads of the Apostles; while, in Archbishop Robert's Benedictional, the dove is unattended, the sky is red and streaky, between the dove and the apostles two blue arches are introduced, resting in the centre on a pillar, round which the serpent is entwined, and a hand in a circle in the border is pointing to the dove below. In this MS. St. Peter and St. Paul each wear a green wreath on their heads, and they sit in different situations and positions from those in which they are placed in the other MS. The number of the Apostles also differs; the twelve appear in St. Æthelwold's, and only eleven in Archbishop Robert's miniature.

The third miniature, the death of the Blessed Virgin, comprises the upper part only of the same subject which occurs in St. Æthelwold's MS. The angels descending are omitted, and the crown over the virgin's head is suspended from ribbands held by a hand above. The crown, the shape of which is remarkable, is the same in both MSS. I observe that Alexander the Great wears a similar crown in his miniature occurring in the Cotton. MS. Tiberius, B. V. the greater part of which MS. was written between the years 989 and 993, as appears from the catalogue prefixed of English bishops.

The colouring of the miniatures in this MS. is perhaps less delicate and harmonious than of that in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional; especially the carnations, which partake of a brick-dust hue, impairing the beauty of the picture. As to the drawing and composition, it may be difficult to say to which work belongs the preference; unless that, in the particular specimen here given, the arrangement of the soldiers in the foreground is better, and that there is possibly something more of freedom in parts of the design. In the other two miniatures the angels and some of the ornamental accessories are altogether omitted.

I have before alluded to the circumstance of Saints Grimbald and Iudoc being the only two Saints in the English Calendar for whom there are benedictions in this volume.

St. Grimbald was invited over to England from the Monastery of St. Bertin, by King Alfred, in 885, and was made Abbot[i] of the secular canons of New Minster at Winchester, founded by the King, and finished by his successor. In the Saxon Chronicle, edited by Dr. Ingram, we have the following passage relating to the death of this Saint, and the dedication of his new monastery. "A.D. 903. This year died ——— Grimbald, the Masse priest, on the eighth day of July. The same year was consecrated the new Minster at Winchester, on St. Iudoc's[k] *advent*." This is confirmed by the annals[l] of Hyde,—"A.D. DCCCCIII. Dedicacō Novi Monasterii & advētus reliquiar̄ Sc̄i Iudoci et eodem anno obiī Sc̄i Gr̄imbaldi a° etatis suæ octogesimo tc̄io." The translation of St. Grimbald took place in 935;[m] his remains, which had been interred in the new minster, being deposited in a rich shrine by St. Elphegus, the Bald, Bishop of Winchester. His feast occurs in the missal of Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 8th July, and his name is inserted in the Sarum Litany.

St. Iudoc, priest and hermit, the other Saint in the English Calendar for whose festival there is a form of benediction, lettered at the beginning in remarkable gold characters, was son of Iuthail, a king of Britany or Armorica.

[i] Hinc Sanctum Grimbaldum, artis musicæ peritissimum, & in divinis scripturis eruditissimum, evocatum è Francia, suo novo monasterio quod Wintoniæ construxerat, praefecit in Abbatem. Ingulph. Hist. fol. 495.

[k] Sax. "Iudocep Cyme."

[l] MS. Harl. 1761.

[m] Ibid.

His cell was on the river Quantia, or La Cauche, near the sea side, in Picardy, where he died about the year 668.[n] The site of a monastery, erected there in his name, now bears the name of St. Iosse sur Mer.[o] In 903 certain people of Picardy,[p] who sought a refuge in this country from the fury of enemies then carrying slaughter and devastation through the northern provinces of France, brought along with them the relics of this saint to New Minster, which was consecrated on the occasion, as we have just seen.

Wulstan the monk, in his letter[q] to St. Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, glories in the possession,[r] at New Minster, of the body of St. Iudoc.

[n] Acta Benedict. tom. ii. p. 565, in vita S. Iudoci Presbyteri et Confessoris, auctore anonymo qui sæculo VIII. scripsisse videtur, ex codice Monast. Gemeticensis ante annos 700 manu descriptus.

[o] De Iudoci cella et de Quentovico.—See Hadriani Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p. 256. See also Gallia Christiana, tom. x. p. 1289 and 1347.

[p] "Eansvvyð monialium aedificatrix monasterii. prius d'o s'c'isq: eiᵒ largitis diuersarum specieru' donatiuis. que præcellens matrona diligentius possederat. iacet tumulata. cum s'c'is perpetim resurrectura in superne felicitatis gloria. Quo etiam in loco quidam viri religiosi Pontiui territorii e partibus transmarinis aduexerunt sacratissima membra confessoris Xp'i. IUDOCI. quem summo cum gaudio deuotissimus excipiens clerus. ac infinitus fidelium plebium concoetus. ibidem deposuerunt. quo dignis honoribus ueneratur. qui caelestis thesaurus cuius sit in celis meriti. approbat ipsius felicissima uita. fidemq: afferunt hic diuinitus ostensa multiplicium miraculorum insignia."—Extract from the historical account of the translation of the monks of New Minster to Hyde Abbey, in the MS. belonging to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, called the Hyde Abbey Book; where also the following passage is found in an account, written in Saxon, of the burial places of English Saints,—"þonne pestaþ onnipan mýnstpe S'c's iudocus. ⁊ s'c's gpimbaldus."

[q] Wolstani Monachi Ventani liber de vita S. Swithuni; Epistola ad Elfegum; Acta Benedict. Sæc. V., p. 635.

[r] The authorities quoted are sufficient to shew the belief of the monks of New Minster that they were possessed of the body of St. Iudoc, brought thither when their Church was consecrated, and who seems, in the passage quoted from the Hyde Abbey Book, to be identified with the priest and hermit of this name, from Runiac in Picardy.

On the other hand, Isembard, a monk of Fleury in the time of Hugh the Great or King Robert, writes that the body of St. Iudoc, the priest and hermit, having been buried to prevent its falling into the hands of enemies ravaging the country, the spot was soon forgotten; and that in 977, in the time of Lothaire, son of Lewis (many years after the coming of the Saint's relics to England, according to our historians), the body was miraculously discovered, and translated into the monastery of St. Iudoc, built the same year. See De Translatione Corporis Sancti Iudoci Presbyteri & Confessoris. Acta Benedict. Sæc. V., p. 545.

Visne, ô care parens, quo te portemus ad almum
Cænobium, quod quisque Novum modo nuncupat, in quo
Sacra Sacerdotis requiescunt ossa Judoci ?
Quem Deus innumeris quondam clarescere signis
Fecit, &c.

The monks of St. Swithin's, or Old Minster, and those of New Minster, had a sodality among themselves; and every year, on the feast of St. Iudoc, the priests of Old Minster, according to the rules, came to New Minster for St. Iudoc's mass.[s]

The name of the Saint occurs in the Calendar of the missal of Robert, Archbp. of Canterbury, on the 13th of December; and it also occurs on the same day in the Calendar to a psalter, in the possession of Mr. Douce, of about the same age as the missal.

Thus, the internal evidence which this MS. affords, may be said to prove that it was written by the monks of New Minster, at Winchester; and I have little doubt that it was executed for their Abbot Æthelgar,[t] who in 977 was made Bishop of Selsey,[u] and in 989 was translated to the see of Canterbury. The hand-writing, the style of art, the peculiar liturgy, and the circumstances, all lead to this conclusion.

How this MS. passed into the Archiepiscopal Library at Rouen, to which it seems to have belonged in the latter half of the eleventh century, does not appear; but it is supposed to have been carried over by Robert the Norman,

Isembard's relation will be found altogether very vague, although Orderic Vitalis makes use of it; and that Historian also records, on the authority of Willermus, monachus Merulensis, & sacerdos, the subsequent translation of the relics of St. Iudoc, first to Gomercium and afterward to Parnis, of which church he speaks as follows—" Ecclesia itaque de Parnis Uticensibus monachis commissa est, quæ in honorem S. Martini Turonensis metropolitæ antiquitus constructa est, vbi corpus S. Iudoci Confessoris Christi iamdiu reuerenter seruatum est." Orderic Vitalis, lib. iii. p. 496, apud Duchesne, Historiæ Normanorum Scriptores.—Mabillon, in his Commentary, adds, " Ecclesia Sancti Iudoci de Parnis (sic modò appellatur) sita est, ut dixi, in pago Velliocassino, haud longè a Magniaco oppido: qua in ecclesia quædam portio Sancti Iudoci reliquiarum populo exhibetur feria secunda post Pentecosten: maxima pars (si non totum corpus) hactenus in ipsius sancti Iudoci monasterio apud Morinos à nostris hactenus asservatur." Acta Benedict. Sæc. V., p. 547.

[s] Hyde Abbey Book, MS. belonging to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

[t] Æthelgar was Abbot of New Minster in 965. *Ann. Hyde.* [u] Ibid.

Archbp. of Canterbury,[x] who, from the jealousy of the English, the policy of Stigand, and the power of the Godwins, was obliged to fly the kingdom with Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester, in 1052, and who[y] ended his days, in 1056, in the monastery of Iumieges, of which he was Abbot at the time King Edward the Confessor called him to England in order to take charge of the see of London, before he was promoted to Canterbury.

The MS. is said to be referred to, under the name of *Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi*, in a catalogue, which I have not seen, of the Archiepiscopal Library of Rouen, so early as the time of Geoffery, consecrated Archbishop of that see in 1111; and from this circumstance Mons. Gourdin, late Keeper of the public library, in a paper read by him before the academy of Rouen, on the subject of this Benedictional and of the missal of Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, has drawn the inference that this MS. which he admits to have come from England, belonged to Robert Archbishop of Rouen, who died in 1037.[z]

In speaking of the title in a former page, I have adverted to an erasure and the addition Cantuariensis. This erasure, and the addition, called forth the animadversions[a] of Dom. Tassin, of the church of St. Ouen, one of the editors of the Nouveau Traité Diplomatique, who accused Mons. l'Abbé Saas, a member of the Academy of Rouen, and Canon of the Cathedral, of making the erasure, and of having substituted *Cantuariensis* for *Rothomagensis*. The

[x] Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 303.

[y] Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. and lib. ii. Ibid. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. ii.

[z] "Le Benedictionaire a-t-il été fait par l'ordre d'un Archevêque Robert? Je reponds d'abord qu'il n'a pu être fait par l'ordre de l'archevêque de Rouen, puisqu'on y trouve le Ceremonial et les prières du sacre des rois Anglo-Saxons, et que par consequent il étoit à l'usage de l'évêque de Cantorbery." p. 166. "Mais comment, dira-t-on, pouvoit-il venir de Robert Archevêque de Rouen? Ma première conjecture à cet égard est fondée sur le catalogue même que je viens de citer (Mr. Gourdin had cited it, p. 167, on the authority of Mons. Saas), et dans lequel on lit simplement *Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi*. p. 170.—Notices des deux manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de Rouen, par Mons. Gourdin; Precis Analytique des travaux de l'Academie des Sciences, Belles Lettres, et Arts, de Rouen, pendant l'année 1812.

[a] See Notices des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de l'Eglise Metropolitaine de Rouen, par l'Abbé Saas, Chanoine à Rouen 1746; and the tracts relating to the controversy between the Abbé and Dom. Tassin. The French writers have been much deceived as to the age of this Benedictional; even Montfaucon ascribes it to the eighth century. Bibl. Biblioth. p. 116.

Abbé replied, that whoever was guilty of the erasure had been long dead; that there was no proof of what had been erased; that it might be inferred it was Cantuariensis, because he, the Abbé, found the title *Benedictionarius Roberti Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, on the inner sheet of the binding of the book, at the beginning (where it is still to be seen in a small handwriting); and lastly, that when the addition of Cantuariensis was made by him on the fly leaf, he contended that he had but restored the original title.[b]

It is unnecessary to enter into this controversy; but my opinion, however, is not in favour of substituting the name of Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, for that of Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who may be presumed to have derived the MS. from his predecessor Æthelgar, and to have transferred it to Normandy, as he is known to have done the Missal bearing his name.

I cannot close these remarks without expressing my acknowledgments to Mons. Licquet, the learned keeper of the public library at Rouen, for the facilities afforded and the attentions shewn to me by him during my researches among the literary treasures under his care; and also to Mons. Hyacinthe Langlois, who has been so recently elected an honorary member of our Society, and whose name I have before with pleasure mentioned, for the valuable aid received from his pencil.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's obedient humble Servant,

JOHN GAGE.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen,
&c. &c. &c.

[b] This justification must have escaped Mons. Gourdin's attention, or he would not, I conceive, in his Notices des deux Manuscrits, have repeated the charge against Abbé Saas.

III. *Letter from* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, addressed to the Right Honourable the* Earl of Aberdeen, *K. T. President, accompanying Transcripts of three Letters illustrative of English History.*

Read 12th May, 1831.

British Museum, 12th May, 1831.

MY LORD,

By the kindness of the Lord Bishop of Landaff, I place upon the Society's table three original Letters preserved among the family archives of Sir William Pole, Bart. of Shute, in the county of Devon. They are illustrative of English History; and are all addressed to Sir William Morice, Secretary of State to King Charles the Second.

The originals, after exhibition to the Society, will be deposited, as a present from Sir William Pole, in the British Museum.

The first of these letters, from Thomas Gewen, is addressed to William Morice, Esq. at Warrington, in Devon. Mr. Morice, it is proper to state, had been elected Knight of the Shire for Devon, 12th July, 1654, and Mr. Gewen, at the same time, for the County of Cornwall. This notice, with the following extract from Rapin's History of England, will fully explain the bearings of the letter. It relates to the measures taken by Cromwell at the opening of his first Parliament.

"The Parliament," says Rapin, "being assembled, Cromwell made a speech in the Painted Chamber, where the House waited on him. He briefly touched upon the disorders of the preceding Government, and endeavoured to justify the present establishment. After an assurance of his good intentions, he represented to them his services for the Nation since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and told them, he had called a free Parliament, agreeably to the desire of all good Englishmen; adding, that he did not speak to them as one that would be a Lord over them, but as one that would be a fellow servant in the great affair of settling the Government.

"Cromwell hoped, this Parliament, free indeed, excepting the exclusion of the Royalists, who could not have been admitted with safety, would confirm his Protectoral dignity, and that the confirmation of a free Parliament would stop the mouths of his enemies. Upon his own recommendation, Lenthal, Speaker of the Long Parliament, was chosen again to that post. It appeared very soon, that the Parliament had many Members who were enemies of tyranny, and having served in the Long Parliament, had imbibed maxims very contrary to those established by Cromwell. The first thing proposed, was to examine by what authority they were assembled; a question unexpected by Cromwell. In all appearance, his enemies designed to give him a mortal blow, by a decision that his authority was imaginary and illegal, as indeed it was. Perhaps too the Parliament intended to seize the sovereign power, though convened by an unlawful authority. Cromwell himself had given them an instance of what could be done by force. But as he had friends, as well as enemies, in the House, he found means to make them lose time by the opposition they met with, from the officers and others who espoused his interest, whether through friendship or fear. So, though he could not hinder the frequent debates on this question, he gave his enemies cause to apprehend, that they should not carry it when it came to be decided. At last, perceiving they only waited a favourable opportunity to put the question, he sent for the Members to meet him in the Painted Chamber. Though in his first speech he told them that he would only be their fellow servant, in this he spoke as their Lord, and told them they were too free in calling an established government into question, from which themselves had derived their authority, since, if they were not lawfully convened, they had no power to debate. At their return to the House they found a guard at the door, refusing entrance to any person, who would not first sign an engagement in these words:—'I, *A. B.*, do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and to the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose or give any consent to alter the Government, as it is settled in one single Person and a Parliament.' Many refusing to sign this engagement, were excluded from the House."[a]

[a] Rapin, Hist. Eng. fol. 1732, vol. ii. p. 593.

"Honored Sr.

"In truth I was very sorry when I heard you were gone, and should be no lesse glad to heare of your returne; had you stayd but one day longer I had moved you to go with me to the Protector to debate the busines with him, for it seemed no hard matter to me to give a satisfactory answere to all those things which in his second speech he alleadged for himself; and when you were gone, the same thoughts still remayning fixed within me, I moved your brother Bampfield to joine with me in this service, which he agreed unto, and accordingly the next day after your departure we went to Whitehall with full intent to speak with him then, but missed the purpose at that tyme by reason of his going abroad in his coach to take the aire, as we were told; but the day following we were admitted to speake with him, and did continue the discourse more then two houres very freely and plainely, yet without any check or intimation of dislike. He entertayned us very civilly, and made us sit downe by him whilst he talked with us. I shall not trouble you with any particulars till we may have an oportunity to meet againe, which I hope wilbe shortly, only this I can truly say, we lost no ground; we did the cause no wronge. Of this only in the by. The maine which I intend is to give you satisfaction touching the dissinfulnes of subscribing the Engagement in order to your retorne to the House, according to the Scripture rule, When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren. I suppose you did observe by me before you went hence, that I was never fixt in a resolution against subscribinge, for it was alwayes my opinion, altho undoubtedly there were syn in the imposing, yet it will not follow thence that there is syn in the subscribing: you may remember I did instance in the case of usury, wherein the lender may syn and yet the borrower not.

"After your going downe we had divers other such scuffling conferences as we had whilst you were here, which I perceaved were never likely to beget any thorow resolution, wherefore I held it necessary to write downe the State of the Case as to the matter of fact, and thereupon to propound such queries as might be made cases of conscience, and thereupon to gett the opinion of some lerned and godly Casuists; which having done, I confes I am now confirmed in my opinion that it is not unlawfull for me to subscribe; the reasons to me are very satisfactory, and because I hope they wilbe prevalent with you also, I have here withall sent a copie of them, which you

may be pleased to impart to Sr Jo. Northcott, Mr. Quick,[b] or any other whom you shall think fitt; and if you be satisfyed, I pray hasten up assoone as possible you can, for they who are already gone in do profes they exceedingly want some speakers, and altho' there be almost six to one that speak on the Court syde they can hardly carry any thing, nothing of any great importance. They have already voted that no Taxe or Assessment, or any other charge shall be imposed, or any Law made, but by the Parliament; that the Protector's Counsell shalbe chosen by the Parliament, which they intend to do by a way of ballotting or beaning; also that warre and peace shalbe made by the Parliament only in tyme of Parliament, and in the intervalls of Parliament by the Protector and the greatest number of his Counsell, with such limitation and restrictions as the Parliament shall set downe; and some othr such thinges which to avoid tediousnes I omitt. And now they are entring upon the busines of Religion; they have appointed a grand Committee for it, which is to sit every Wednesday and Friday in the afternoone, and therefore now is a tyme for you to come and help if ever. The two Bacons,[c] Alderman Gibbes,[d] Boys,[e] Birch, and divers other eminent and conscientious men are gone in already. I believe Judge Hales,[f] Mr. Bankley,[g] Mr. Grove,[h] Sir George Booth,[i] and many more will go in with us this week. I will trouble you no further, only adde this one word, *si dubites feceris*, if you doubt whether it be a syn for you in this case to neglect the doing of your duty in the house, then you must go in and do it *quia in dubiis, quod tutius est agendum.* With my due respects to all your deare relations, I humbly take leave, and subscribe with heart and hand,

"London, 10 Octo. 1654.

"Honored Sir,
Your very faithfull frend and moost
humble servant,
THO. GEWEN."

"To my much honored friend,
William Morrice, Esq. at Warington, in Devon, these present."

[b] Sir John Northcott and Mr. John Quick were elected Knights of the shire for Devon at the same time with Mr. Morice.

[c] Mr. Bacon senior and Mr. Bacon junior, Members for Ipswich.

[d] Member for Suffolk. See Burton's Diary, vol. ii. p. 334.

[e] Capt. John Boys, Knight of the shire for Kent. [f] John Hales, Esq. Member for Devon.

[g] Thomas Bancfield, Esq. Recorder of, and Member for Exeter.

[h] Mr. Thomas Grove, Member for Wilts. [i] Member for Cheshire.

It may be worth remarking that Mr. Gewen, the writer of this letter, was the same person who, afterwards, in 1657-8, moved that Cromwell should be invested with the title and dignity of King.[k]

The second Letter here laid before the Society, is from Dr. Peter du Moulin, Prebend of Canterbury, and relates to an assertion which to most readers will probably seem extraordinary, that the year before the murder of King Charles the First, the Society of Jesuits, finding the King and the Constitution of the State of England equally averse to their party, sent a deputation first to the Sorbonne and afterwards to Rome, desiring to be resolved whether they might lawfully labour by their friends in the Council of State and Army, to bring the King to his death and turn the Monarchy of England into a Republic; and that the head of that Deputation both to the Sorbonne and to Rome was Sir Kenelm Digby.

The following is the Letter:

" Right Honorable, Canterbury, Jan. 12, 1664.

" By the oath which I tooke when I receiued that great honour to be sworne the King's seruant, I think myselfe obliged to enlarge a passage in my Answeare to Philanax Anglicus, which concernes the safety of his Majesty and of his Royal House and State; and to none better then yourself, Sir, considering your wisedome and place, I can adresse myselfe for it.

" The true motiue of that storme from Somerset House against my booke was not that pretended intimation of a Priest and Confessour (whom I did not so much as name) who flourisht with his sword aboue his head, &c. but an instance about a traiterous negociation which I offered in my booke to proue whensoeuer authority would call for it. For the chiefe negociatour being now in a high place, feares nothing more then that the buzines be lookt into. For which reason the King was so importunedly intreated to forbid me to write any more in English.

" The buzines is this. The yeare before our gracious King and glorious Martyr was murdered, the Counsell of the Jesuits in London resolued to send a Deputation of their body first to the Sorbon in Paris, and thence

k See Burton's Diary, vol. ii. p. 424.

to Rome, to represent that the King was altogether auerse from their Religion, and that the Lawes and Constitution of the State were destructive to their party: and that therefore they desired to be resolued, whether they might lawfully labour by their friends in the Counsell of State and Army of England to bring the King to his death, and turne the Monarchy into a Republick.

" The head of that Deputation was Sir Kenelme Digby (whom I name not in my booke), who accordingly with others of that party went first to the Sorbon, which being then all Jesuited, resolued in the affirmatiue.

" From the Sorbon they went to Rome, where the Pope assembled the Conclaue: and the question being debated, the resolution of the Sorbon was confirmed, and the English Jesuits were encouraged to goe on in that design so important for the Catholick cause.

" The King being murdered the yeare after, the Pope seeing how the fact was generally detested with great execration, and the Protestants charged with it, gaue a strict order that all the papers about that buzines should be diligently sought and burnt; which was executed at Rome: and, by virtue of that order, in Paris also. Yet a gentleman who had by him an account of the debate and resolution of the Sorbon about that point, and had had time to consider the enormity and hainousness of all that designe and proceeding, being charged to deliuer up his papers, refused to obey the order, and answeared that he would make use of them to shew their wickednes. Which he hath done, and the papers are at this present in London, in the hands of a Protestant gentleman.

" The proofe I haue for this is, the testimony of Dr. Castillion, the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, my brother prebend of Canterbury, a person of great worth and integrity, who was in Paris in the time of these transactions.

" Him I desired (when I saw that great tempest from the Clergy of Somerset House, and perceiued the cause of it) to remember what he had told me, and (if need were) to make it good. Which he promist to doe, whensoeuer he should be injoined by authority, and the papers are at hand to be produced.

" I must not omitt, that when Dr. Castillion saw this relation printed, he exprest some discontent about it. And his reason was, that the gentleman who is acquainted with the whole buzines, intended to haue publisht it himself. And it is like he can give a fuller account of it then I haue giuen here.

" Sir, I haue thought this worthy to be imparted to your Honor. If you think so too, I haue my end, and leaue to your wisedome to make the best use of it: Beseeching the great Spirit of wisedome and understanding to assist you with his counsell and uphold you with his comforts. So prayeth,

" Right Honorable,

Your Honour's

Reall honorer and humblest seruant,

PETER DU MOULIN."

" To the Right Honorable Sir William Morice, Knight,
one of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Counsell,
and his first Secretary of State,

At Whitehall,

" Humbly present these."

His book, to which Du Moulin alludes, was " A Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion in the point of Obedience to Sovereigns: in answer to a Jesuitical Libel, entituled Philanax Anglicus:" published in quarto at London, in 1664. The passage he refers to is to be found in page 58. In 1679 the fourth edition of this work appeared, " In which," it is stated in the title, " more light is given about the horrible Popish Plot, whereby our late sacred Sovereign Charles the I. was murdered."

In page 60 also is this passage, explanatory of one or two sentences of the Letter:

" At the first appearing of that charge it strook such a terror among the Gentlemen of Somerset-House (where a man of great note was much concerned in it) that they cast themselves at the King's feet to crave justice against me; yet upon another pretence, which was the mention I had made (after Mr. Prynne and Mr. Foulis) of the Priest flourishing with his sword when the King's head was cut off, and saying, *Now our greatest enemy is cut off.* But, upon soberer thoughts, after three or four days the clamour was suddenly husht. Only they won the Queen Mother to beseech the King that I might be forbidden to make any more books. So much then was exprest unto me in a letter of the Secretary of State, yet in a gracious counselling way from my great and good Master, who honored me with his good will, and would not discredit me, much less my cause, as representing to me that it was my wiser course to forbear writing books in English be-

cause it was not my natural language." In the margin Du Moulin adds, "This prohibition was taken away upon my petition, when I put the same book to be printed again in the year 1668."

In page 64 of this fourth edition, the following letter is preserved from Sir William Morice to Du Moulin, which may be considered as a sequel to the letter here communicated by the Bishop of Landaff:

"For my honored friend Dr. Peter Du Moulin.

"Sir, Wherington, Aug. the 9th, 1673.

"I have received yours of the 17 of last month. I have so much honour for yourself and your extraction, that I should be very ready and glad to serve you in any thing wherein occasion shall prompt, and my powers capacitate me. Though I cannot give attestation to all the cirumstances which you mention (the common vogue at that time being not a Fond sufficient to build upon), yet to the substance of that you desire me to bear witness to, I shall say, that the King my master gave me his command, soon upon the coming forth of your answer to Philanax Anglicus, to signifie his pleasure, that you should write no more in English, as which being not vernacular to you, he said you were not perfect master. He was not pleased to give me any further reason of his commands; and it was not decent for me to inquire, but rather to obey. And it doth as little become me to speak my conjectures, or to make any collections or inferences out of what fell from him, beyond what was given me in charge. You know in what trust and capacity I served his Majesty; and what it was my duty to say, and whereof to be silent. But this I may say safely, and will do it confidently, that many arguments did create a violent suspicion, very near convincing evidences, that the irreligion of the Papists was chiefly guilty of the murther of that excellent Prince, the odium whereof they would now file to the account of the Protestant Religion. I applaud your pious zeal, and good designs, and vote happy success to your undertakings with reward proportionable; which you may never fail of, first or last, in the way or in the terme. And I shall justly pay you all the honour possible for

"Your very humble servant,

"Will. Morice."

That the Roman Catholics gave a certain portion of aid to bring Charles the First to his ruin will be easily believed; but the account of the Deputation, as well as the fact that it was headed by Sir Kenelm Digby, seem to stand at present unsupported by any other authority than Du Moulin's; though it must be confessed that we are but scantily provided with materials for Sir Kenelm Digby's life at the precise time in question. The facts of the case are perhaps yet to be examined.

The third Letter laid before the Society by the Bishop of Landaff, is from James Duke of Courland, addressed to Sir William Morice as "Monsieur Moritz," Secretary and Minister of State of the Kingdom of England. He signs himself Duke in Livonia, of Courland and Semigalle.

Livonia had been ceded to Poland by Gothard Ketlern, the ancestor of James, in the middle of the sixteenth century, who in consequence was created the first Duke of Courland in 1561, the duchy being held as a fief of Poland. Duke James was born in 1610. He succeeded his father as Duke of Courland in 1643. He lost Mittau to the Swedes in 1658, and was their prisoner at Iwanogrod till the peace of Oliva in 1660. He died December 31st 1682. The most important fact in this letter is the offer of a bribe to Sir William Morice of 10,000 florins, to procure his good offices with King Charles the Second.

"Monsieur,

"Nous ne formons aucun doute, que Vous n'ayee receu deux Lettres que Nous Vous auons enuoyé, puisque nous les auons addressez auec toute la Diligence imaginable, des quelles nous attendons Response, selon laquelle nous pourrions disposer nos affaires. Les dites Lettres, Monsieur, contenoient que Vous eussie la bonte d'employer votre authorité pour nous procurer cette grace du Roy de la Grande Bretaigne, que l'on fit mention de nos Interests dans les Traictes qui se deuoient faire, et comme il est venu en me Connoissance, que l'on este assemblé pour la conclusion desd' Traictez, que le Souuerain benisse. Il seroit extremement besoing, de faire en sorte (ainsy que Vostre prudent genie et dexterité pourrans persuader a sa Majesté)

qu'elle face expressement inserer que Nous ayons la Satisfaction, que Nous pretendons de la Detention de nos Places, que l'on a sy long temps retenu, sans qu'aucun Reuenu: nous ay esté rendu entre les mains, comme aussy l'Vsufruict de Nostre Isle de Tobago que le Sieur Lambsius a possedé a faux tiltre que vous estes duement informé. Nous sommes persuadez que Sa Majesté conseruera tant d'affection pour nous qu'elle nous accordera cette grace et quelle consentira que nous soyons satisfaict de sy justes demandes. Il ne reste donc, Monsieur, qu'a trauailler a cette clause et vostre soing y estant employé nous faict esperer tout bon succez: la peine que vous prendrez pour ce subject, et nostre satisfaction reellement obtenue, nous prousquent a vous promettre la somme de dix Mil florins, lesquels vous seront comptez lorsque nous serons contens, et aurons receu ce que nous pretendons en l'attente de cette faueur. Nous sommes,

" Monsieur,

" *Vostre tres affectiones serviteur*,

" Jacobus, par la Grace de Dieu,

" Duc en Livonie de Courland & Semigalle,

JACOBUS.

" P. S. Vous estes prié instamment de mettre le billet enclos a execution.

" Mytau, ce May 16th, 1666."

" Monsieur,
" Monsieur Moritz, Secretaire & Ministre
" d'Estat du Royaume d'Angleterre, a Londres.
" Citissime."

Semigalle was a district of Courland, of which Mittau was the capital.

It may not be improper here to add a brief mention of the Island of Tobago: so particularly spoken of in Duke James's letter. In the latter end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries that Island was considered as belonging to the English; though no regular settlement had been made upon it. Soon after the breaking out of the English civil wars, the Dutch from Brazil took possession of it, but were driven out by the Caribbeans. James Duke of Courland, the writer of the letter here produced, after this, sent a ship or two into the American seas in

search of some uninhabited Island where he might make a settlement which would promote the commerce and navigation of his subjects. His agents, finding Tobago unoccupied, landed and built a fort upon it, to which, in honour of their Sovereign, they gave the name of James's Fort. About the same time, 1654, two Dutch merchants of the province of Zealand, Adrian and Cornelius Lampsins, formed a similar project, probably without knowing that the Courlanders had fixed there. They landed, and after various expostulations, agreed to settle in a corner of the island under the Duke of Courland's protection, paying to him an annual acknowledgment.

In 1658 the conquest of Courland by the Swedes, induced the Lampsins to take advantage of Duke James; the garrison of Fort James mutinied, and the Dutch became sole masters of Tobago.

By the peace of Breda, the preliminaries of which are alluded to in Duke James's letter, the Island of Tobago was left to the Dutch by chance. As it was impossible to be exactly informed of the events of the war in America at the time the peace was signed in Europe, the States General proposed to King Charles the Second two expedients, and left them to his Majesty's option, whether he would consent that all things should be restored to the state they were in at the breaking out of the war, or whether both parties should keep what they were in possession of on May 20th, 1667, and only restore what should appear to have been taken after that date. The King made choice of the latter. This being unfavourable to the Duke of Courland, it is to be supposed, from the terms of the Duke's letter, that the 10,000 florins never found their way to the pocket of Sir William Morice.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

IV. *Remarks upon the Coins lately discovered in the bed of the River Dove, near Tutbury, Staffordshire. By* Edward Hawkins, *Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. Keeper of the Antiquities and Medals in the British Museum.*

Read 15th December, 1831.

As much interest has been excited by the discovery of a very large number of Silver Pennies, of the time of our first and second Edwards, in the neighbourhood of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, I shall take the liberty of laying before the Society such of the circumstances as have come to my knowledge; with a few observations which have arisen from an accurate examination of nearly 1500 of these coins, which have been submitted to my inspection by the kindness of Lord Holland, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

In the early part of this summer, a number of workmen were employed in removing a considerable bank of gravel and sand, which inconveniently obstructed the course of the River Dove, a short distance below the present bridge at Tutbury. In the course of their operations, they found a very large number of silver coins, amounting, according to the estimation of some intelligent persons in the neighbourhood, to not less than 200,000 pieces; the greater part of which were speedily dispersed amongst the numerous collectors who were created by the interest excited in consequence of this discovery near their own residences; or disposed of to various dealers in silver, by whom they were committed to the crucible. As the place where these coins were found is near the ruins of the ancient Castle of Tutbury, and within the Honour of Tutbury, which belongs to his Majesty as part of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster, they all of right belonged to his Majesty as treasure trove. The Chancellor and Council of the Duchy, with

a view to preserve his Majesty's rights, as well as to prosecute with proper activity and means a vigorous search after any further interesting objects of antiquity, which might still remain undiscovered, issued a commission laying claim to the coins found, prohibiting unauthorised persons from further search, and appointing proper officers to proceed in examination of the hitherto unexplored ground. At the same time, with a view to preserve the peace of the neighbourhood, and in kind consideration of the poor workmen who had been occupying themselves in digging up this treasure, they directed that no proceedings should be taken with regard to any money which had been found previous to that time. The result of the proceedings under the Commission of the Duchy of Lancaster, was the discovery of about 1500 silver pennies, and one gold ring.

Of these coins I now proceed to give a description, particularizing all the minute varieties which I have observed in the type.

No. of Coins.

106. 1. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters large; the mint mark a large cross, with a long line at the end of each limb.

3. 2. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
Same as No. 1, but having two dots upon the king's breast, perhaps intended for the studs of a brooch.

40. 3. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters smaller than No. 1; the cross smaller, and the coin itself smaller.

49. 4. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The cross still smaller than No. 1, and more compact; a star on the breast, where the mantle meets, but apparently not intended for a brooch.

No. of Coins.

12. 5. ·EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
·CIVITAS LONDON
With the large letters, and a large dot or roundel before the legend on each side.

3. 6. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS · LONDON
Large letters; dot or roundel before London; two dots at the joining of the mantle.

1. 7. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS ✠ LONDON
Large letters; a peculiarly formed cross before London; two dots at the joining of the mantle.

1. 8. EDW R ANG DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters rather large; the cross plain, not paté at the ends.

1. 9. EDW RE ANGL DNꝮ YB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters large; the s of Dominus turned the contrary way; the H of Hibernia omitted. This was probably a counterfeit.

11. 10. EDW REX ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters small.

1. 11. EDW REX ANGL DNS HYB.
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters small; the letter N on the obverse in the English character, but on the reverse in the Roman.

1. 12. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The letters small; mint mark W; a star on the breast. This coin is remarkable for its apparent mint mark: it is, however, only a blundered coin. The letter W is in fact the last letter of the King's name, which has been double struck, in such a way that this letter appears

No. of Coins.

exactly in the usual place of the cross, while the two first letters ED are obliterated by the second striking of the last letters of the correct legend.

35. 13. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR
Large letters and cross as upon No. 1.

13. 14. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR
Smaller letters and cross, as upon No. 3.

19. 15. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR
Smaller letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

3. 16. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CAN·TOR
Large letters and cross; dots on breast, as upon No. 2.; a dot or roundel between the N and T of CAN·TOR.

3. 17. ·EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
·CIVITAS CANTOR
Large letters and cross; brooch on breast; dot or roundel before the legend on each side.

1. 18. ·EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
·CIVITAS CANTOR
Large letters and cross; no brooch on breast; dot or roundel before legend on each side.

3. 19. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ABE REV VICI
Large letters and cross.

21. 20. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ABR ISTO LLIE
Large letters and cross, as upon No. 1.

3. 21. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL BRI STO LIE
Small letters and cross, as upon No. 3.

No. of Coins.

4. 22. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL BRI STO LIE
Small letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

6. 23. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Large letters and cross, as upon No. 1.

4. 24. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Small letters and cross, as upon No. 3.

3. 25. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Small letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

4. 26. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Large letters, as upon No. 1; mint mark, cross moline; struck by Bishop Beck.

4. 27. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Small letters, as upon No. 3; mint mark, cross moline; struck by Bishop Beck.

3. 28. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL SCIE DMV NDI
Small letters, as upon No. 3.

1. 29. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ASCI EDM VNDI
Small letters, as upon No. 3.

1. 30. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL SCIE DMV NDI
Small letters; star upon breast, as No. 4.

2. 31. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS EXONIE
Small letters; star upon breast, as No. 4.

3. 32. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL KYN GES TON.
Small letters; star on breast, as No. 4.

No. of Coins.

6. 33. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LINCOL
Large letters and cross, as upon No. 1.

1. 34. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ANO VICA STRI
Large letters and cross, as upon No. 1; dot or roundel in the N of ANGL.

5. 35. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL NOVI CAS TRI
Small letters and cross, as upon No. 3.

9. 36. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL NOV CAS TRI
Small letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

1. 37. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
VIL NOV CAS TRI
Small letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

8. 38. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS EBORACI
Large letters and cross, as upon No. 1.

9. 39. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS EBORACI
Small letters and cross; star on breast, as upon No. 4.

1. 40. EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS EBORACI
Large letters, as upon No. 1; cross on breast; quatrefoil in the centre of the cross upon the reverse.

1. 41. EDW R ANGL DNS HIB
ROBE RTDE HADE LEIE
Large letters; plain small cross.

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309. 42. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

7. 43. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB:
CIVITAS LONDON
Two dots at the end of the legend of the obverse.

No. of Coins.

1. 44. EDWA R ANGL DNS HY:B:
CIVITAS LONDON
Two dots on each side the B of HYB on the obverse.

1. 45. EDWA R AANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
The A of ANGL being accidentally repeated.

1. 46. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DONDON *(sic.)*

4. 47. EDWA R ANG DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

202. 48. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB.
CIVITAS CANTOR

4. 49. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB:
CIVITAS CANTOR
Two dots at the end of the legend on obverse.

3. 50. EDWA R ANG DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR.

2. 51. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CANTOR CANTOR *(sic.)*

1. 52. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB:
CIVITAS CASTOR
Two dots at the end of the legend on the obverse. The mistake of Castor for Cantor has probably given occasion to its having been reported that some coins struck at Lancaster had been discovered.

1. 53. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
VIL LAB ERE VICI

1. 54. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ABE REVV ICI
A dot on the breast. Workmanship unusually bad.

1. 55. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
:VIL LAB ERE WIC
Two dots before the legend of the reverse.

6. 56. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ABE REV VICI
Roman E used upon the reverse, instead of the usual English character.

No. of Coins.

20. 57. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ABE REV VICI

Dot upon the breast, intended probably for a brooch.

11. 58. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME

Mint mark, a plain cross, not paté.

55. 59. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME

Mint mark, a cross moline. Struck by Bishop Beck.

6. 60. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUNELM

The top of a crozier, turned to the left, terminates one limb of the large cross of the reverse. Struck by Bishop Kellow.

27. 61. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ASCI EDM VNDI

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121. 62. EDWAR R. ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

1. 63. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIV+TAS LONDON

The second I in CIVITAS has a short limb in the middle on each side, giving it a cross-like form.

1. 64. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVI CIVI LONDON

The first part of the word CIVITAS being accidentally substituted in place of its termination.

115. 65. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR

1. 66. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB:
CIVITAS CANTOR

Two dots at the end of legend on obverse, as upon Nos. 43, 49, and 52.

No. of Coins.

1. 67. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUREME
Mint mark, cross moline. Struck by Bishop Beck.

4. 68. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUNELM
The top of a crozier, turned to the left, terminates one limb of the large cross of the reverse. Struck by Bishop Kellow.

69. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DUNELM

3. Mint mark, lion rampant between two fleurs-de-lis.

7. MM. lion rampant with two fleurs-de-lis in front.

5. MM. lion rampant with one fleur-de-lis in front.

10. MM. lion rampant, but in too bad a condition to admit of my stating how accompanied by one or more fleurs-de-lis.

These were all struck by Bishop Beaumont; and it may be here remarked that the Durham coins are in general very badly minted.

1. 70. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL NOVI CAS TRI

47. 71. EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL ASCI EDM VNDI

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21. 72. EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

10. 73. EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON
One of these has a small ornamental mark of abbreviation attached to the B of HYB.

1. 74. EDWARD R ANG DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

No. of Coins.

1. 75. EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DVREME

2. 76. EDWARD R ANGL DNS H
CIVITAS DVREMIE
Mint mark, a plain cross.

5. 77. EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL NOVI CAS TRI

2. 78. EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB
VILL NOV CAS TRI

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4. 79. EDWR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

5. 80. EDWR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS CANTOR

11. So blundered in the striking as to be scarcely legible.

FOREIGN, OR COUNTERFEIT STERLINGS.

1. 81. G: DOMIN . . . . DE LIN . . . .
MON . . . . SERENE
Letters large, like those of No. 1.[a]

1. 82. GVALER DE LVSENB
MONETA SERENE
Letters large, like those of No. 1.[b]

2. 83. R COMES FLANDRIE
MONETA ALOTEN
Letters small.[c]

1. 84. ¦ IOHANNES ¦ DEI ¦ GRA
REX BOE ET POL
Letters small; an eagle with wings displayed between the letters E and S of IOHANNES upon the obverse, and at the end of the legend of the reverse.[d]

[a] Vide Snelling, pl. iii. f. 27. [b] Ibid. f. 28. [c] Ibid. f. 12.
[d] Ibid. f. 21.

No. of Coins.

2. 85. EC MONETA NOSTRA
LVN TOLENGIEN
Letters small.[e]

All these pieces strictly resemble in workmanship and type the English pennies of this period.

SCOTTISH MONEY.

86. ✠ALEXANDER DEI GRA
REX SCOTORVM✠

A plain cross at the beginning of the legend on the obverse; at the end upon the reverse.

4. 4 Spur rowels of 5 points in the quarters of the cross on the reverse.

7. 4 Spur rowels of 6 points.

4. 3 Spur rowels of 6 points, and 1 star of 7 points.

2. 2 Spur rowels of 6 points, and 2 stars of 7 points.

1. 87. ✠IOHANNES DEI GRA
✠REX SCOTORVM

A plain cross at the commencement of the legend on each side; 4 spur rowels of 6 points in the quarters of the cross on the reverse.

1. 88. ✠I·.·OHANNES DEI GRA
REX SCOTORVM✠

A cross at the commencement of the legend of the obverse, at the end upon the reverse. A spur rowel of 5 points in each quarter of the cross on the reverse. Three dots between the first and second letter of the King's name.

1. 89. ✠IOHANNES DEI GRA
CIVITAS SANDRE

Spur rowel in each quarter of the cross on reverse.

[e] Vide Snelling, pl. iii. f. 34.

IRISH COINS.

No. of Coins.

4. 90. EDW R' ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS DVBLINIE
Letters large; two dots below the King's bust.

8. 91. Legends same as 89. Letters small: one dot below the King's bust.

2. 92. ·EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS WATERFOR

RECAPITULATION,

Shewing at one view the respective number of pieces of each mint, and of each of the modes of spelling the abbreviations of the names of Edward I. and II.

King's Name.	Place of Mintage.	Large Letters.	Small Letters.	Star on Breast.	Total.
EDW	London -	127	53	49 -	229
	Canterbury -	42	13	19 -	74
	Berwick -	3	—	— -	3
	Bristol -	21	3	4 -	28
	Durham -	6	4	3 -	13
	Ditto, Bp. Beck	4	4	— -	8
	St. Edmund's	—	4	1 -	5
	Exeter -	—	—	2 -	2
	Kingston -	—	—	3 -	3
	Lincoln -	6	—	— -	6
	Newcastle -	1	5	10 -	16
	York - -	9	—	9 -	18
	Rob. de Hadley	1	—	— -	1
EDWA	London - - - - - - -				323
	Canterbury - - - - - -				212
	Berwick - - - - - - -				29
				Carry forward	970

				Total.
			Brought forward	970
	Durham	11		
	— Dureme, Bp. Beck	55	- -	72
	— Dunelm, Bp. Kellow	6		
	St. Edmund's		- - - -	27
EDWAR	London		- - - - - -	123
	Canterbury		- - - - - -	116
	Dureme, Bp. Beck	1		
	Dunelm, Bp. Kellow	4	- -	30
	Dunelm, Bp. Beaumont	25		
	Newcastle		- - - - - -	1
	St. Edmund's		- - - - - -	47
EDWARD	London		- - - - - -	32
	Durham		- - - - - -	3
	Newcastle		- - - - - -	7
EDWR	London		- - - - - -	4
	Canterbury		- - - - - -	5
Blundered Coins			- - - - - -	11
Scotch.	Alexander	17		
	John	2	- -	20
	Ditto, *struck at St. Andrew's*	1		
Irish.	Dublin	12	- - -	14
	Waterford	2		
Counterfeit Sterlings, or foreign			- - -	7
				1489

I have been the more minute in detailing small and slight peculiarities in the accompaniments of the type of these coins, on account of the difficulty in appropriating correctly the English coins of this period to their respective monarchs. If any considerable number of coins should be now known to exist, or should be hereafter discovered, which do not correspond with some of those now described, it may fairly be concluded that they were struck at a period posterior to the deposit which has lately been brought to light at Tutbury. It is therefore desirable to approach as nearly as possible to a certainty with regard to the time when these coins became buried in the gravel. For this purpose we must recur to those of which the dates can in some measure be ascertained. Amongst the pieces submitted to my inspection, the Episcopal coins struck at Durham are those of Bishop Beck between the years 1283 and 1311, Bishop Kellow between 1313 and 1316, and Bishop Beaumont between 1317 and 1333. The only Scottish coins are of the Kings Alexander and John, but some of Robert Bruce are said to have been found, and these could not have been struck later than 1329, or the second year of Edward III. Of the foreign coins or Counterfeit Sterlings, those of Gualeran of Luxemburg and Lord of Ligny are, from the size of the letters and form of the cross, evident imitations of what I consider the first type of Edward I.; and might have been struck as early as 1280, or eighth of Edward I., if we ascribe them to Gualeran I., or as early as 1288 if we ascribe them to Gualeran II., as in that year he succeeded his father, who was killed at the battle of Vara. Those of Robert Count of Flanders, are similar in type and form of the letters and cross, to the later coins of Edward I. and Edward II., and must have been struck after 1305, when he commenced his reign. Those of John of Bohemia and Poland are also of similar style and type, and must have been struck between the year 1321, when he seized upon Silesia, and 1345, when he formally renounced his claim to the sovereignty of Poland. The argument to be founded upon these dates is not affected by the question whether these coins were struck by order of the princes whose names they bear, or by other persons, who without authority made use of their names to evade the penalties of forging the current coin of the realm, of which they are close imitations. From the above dates it will appear that some of these coins must have been struck after 1321, and

that they may have been struck as late as 1345; but, as there are not any coins of David II. of Scotland, who began to reign in 1329, nor of any Bishop of Durham subsequent to Bishop Beaumont who died in 1333, nor any foreign or counterfeit pieces necessarily of a later period than the death of Edward II. it is not unreasonable to look for the cause of these coins having become interred near Tutbury in some event between the years 1321 and 1329.

From the very large number of coins discovered, it is not probable that they were the private property of any individual, accumulated for the supply of the ordinary expenses of his establishment; but the treasury of the king or some potent nobleman, collected to defray the charges of some great public undertaking; or to provide the pay and remunerate the services of some large body of retainers; it was probably the military chest of some extensive armament, and this conjecture seems strengthened by the circumstance of the coins being unaccompanied by any other valuables, or articles of domestic use, which would probably have been the case, had it been private property, or purposely buried for temporary concealment.

The probable time, the locality, and the circumstances, all seem to point to Thomas Earl of Lancaster as the proprietor of this treasure. It will be in the recollection of the Fellows of this Society, that after the Barons, with this powerful nobleman at their head, had extorted from Edward II. a sentence of attainder and perpetual banishment against his favourites and ministers the Spensers, they disbanded their army and separated to their respective castles. Edward soon afterwards assembled his forces to avenge and punish a personal insult to his Queen; and, as in this the Barons took no part, the King, having his forces on foot, resolved to take his enemies by surprise, and defeat them in detail. In this he was successful; but, while he was engaged in these operations in the Marches of Wales, the Earl of Lancaster hastily assembled his vassals, summoned his friends, and marched to Gloucester, from whence he proceeded to his castle at Tutbury, in order to effect a junction with a reinforcement he expected from Scotland. Hearing that Edward was rapidly advancing against him, he drew out his forces from Tutbury, and marched to Burton, about four miles distant, and placed his army in position on each side the bridge to obstruct the King's passage. The river

being swoln with late rains, "there was no means to pass by the fords, whereupon the King was constrained to stay the space of three days," at the end of which time the Earl of Surrey was ordered to conduct a small party over a bridge about three miles from Burton, and fall upon the rear of the Earl of Lancaster's position, while his attention was occupied by an assault upon his front; and at the same time the King, preceded by a strong party under the Earl of Richmond, was to pass a ford at Walton, and attack him on the other side. When the Earl found that the King had actually passed the river, his defence of the bridge became of no avail, and he withdrew his troops after setting fire to the town, meaning to give the King battle in the open country: the superiority, however, of the King's forces left the Earl no other resource than a speedy retreat towards the North, and he fled to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and made prisoner. Though the circumstance is not mentioned by our general historians, yet William de Pakington, who was clerk and treasurer of the Black Prince's household in Gascony, and therefore had probably good means of information, expressly states, that, upon the King's having passed the river, the Barons went with the Earl of Lancaster to Tutbury, and thence to Pontefract; and with such expedition was all this effected, that he left behind him at Burton "all his vittels and other things," and the King himself came to Tutbury that same evening. At this time then, in all probability, these coins became deposited; the Earl of Lancaster did not perhaps take his military chest with him to Burton, and his retreat upon Tutbury might have been in some degree influenced by his wish to pick up his treasure as he passed; but it might also be a movement of necessity, for, if the King placed force enough to prevent the Earl's immediate passage of the bridge at Burton, he would, as soon as the King had passed the Trent at Walton, be hemmed into an angle formed by the conflux of the Trent and Dove, and the passage of this last river would be his only mode of escape. Voluntarily then or involuntarily, his route was across the Dove, about the place where these coins were found; and, as his retreat was conducted with such rapidity as to be rather a flight than a retreat, there would not be time to remedy any disaster which might befal his military chest on its passage through the ford, and a disaster might easily occur, as there was not at that time any bridge over the Dove, the

banks are soft and marshy, and the floods, which had delayed the King, had not altogether subsided. It has been supposed by some persons who are well acquainted with the present state of the country, that these coins must have been purposely concealed, and not lost in the river by accident; and this idea is chiefly founded upon the circumstance of the Dove's course being different now to what it was at some previous time. Of this fact there is sufficient evidence in the face of the country, and in the legal county and parochial boundaries, which are defined by the former, not by the present course of the river. The time, however, of this change is not known, and may very possibly have occurred long before the time of Edward II. and cannot therefore fairly be urged against the strong probabilities of the supposition of accidental loss amid the confusion of a rapid military retreat. There can scarcely be a doubt as to the period about which the deposit was made: had it been made designedly, the exact place would probably have been known, and when the Earl's successor was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, it would have been disinterred; but amid the hurry and disturbance of a rapid retreat, the exact place of loss would scarcely be recollected, even if the persons who had beheld the disaster had survived the fatigues and dangers of the subsequent events; and it is therefore not surprising that though much search might have been afterwards made, it was without any successful result.

It appears from the description of these coins, that of those which bear only the three first letters of the King's name, i. e. of those now generally ascribed to Edward I. there are three distinguishable types, probably of three extensive coinages. It will be observed that there are also a few coins which are distinguished from the large mass of those three types by small peculiar marks, which may have arisen from the fancy of the workmen, for the purpose of indicating their respective works; but whether these marks were accidental or designed, or whether they had or had not any particular signification, we have now no means of ascertaining; it may however be remarked, that by objects upon the Anglo-Gallic coins, as trifling in appearance as these, peculiar mints are indicated.

Of Edward's first coinage, which took place in 1279, are probably those coins

which are marked by letters of a larger size, the cross also being large, with the line at the end of each limb extended frequently beyond the termination of the limb. I consider these as his first coinage, because they agree in appearance with those which bear the name of Robert de Hadley, who was admitted by the Court of Exchequer, as moneyer of the mint at St. Edmundsbury in 1280. To the end of the reign of Henry III. the moneyers had stamped their names upon the coins. Robert de Hadley is the only name which occurs upon any coin after that time; we have seen that he was actually a moneyer early in the reign of Edward I.; and there is good reason to believe that he had before held the same office in this reign, and even in that of Henry III.; we may therefore fairly conclude that those coins which bear his name are among the earliest struck in this reign, and that those of other mints in the kingdom which are similar in type were struck at the same time. These large lettered coins also agree with some of those struck by Bishop Beck of Durham, whereas those which I consider of Edward the First's second coinage, have letters of a smaller size, the cross smaller and more compact, the coin itself being also smaller, and in all these respects corresponding with the coins of Bishops Kellow and Beaumont, which could not have been struck in any part of his reign. The mark of the third extensive coinage is a star upon the breast of the King, which may possibly, but not probably, have been intended for a brooch to fasten his mantle in front. I am inclined to think these pieces are part of the great coinage of the year 1300, as we know that upon that occasion mints were expressly prepared at Kingston and Exeter, and most of the coins of these places which have come under my notice have this distinguishing mark of a star. These star-marked coins have the smaller sized letters and cross, and if we are correct in ascribing them to the coinage of 1300, so near the close of Edward the First's reign, the probability is increased of the large lettered coins belonging to his first coinage. The foreign coins, or counterfeit sterlings, corroborate this conjecture respecting the arrangement of Edward the First's coinages. The earliest of them, *i. e.* of Gualeran of Luxembourg, resemble the large lettered coins; those of Robert of Flanders and John of Bohemia, which could not have been struck till near the close of his reign, have the smaller letters and cross.

There is one coin which at first sight seems to militate against this arrangement: I mean the penny of Berwick, which could not have been struck previously to 1296, when that place first came into the possession of Edward I., and which certainly resembles the large lettered more than the small lettered coins. A more minute examination of this coin than, but for the apparent anomaly which it presents, one should have bestowed upon it, induces me to fancy I perceive a difference between it and the largest lettered coins. The letters are smaller than on the large coins, though larger than on the small coins, and the cross, though not so compact as upon these, has not the long line at the end of the limb which marks the larger coins. I suspect, therefore, that the type of the large lettered coins continued during the greater part of this reign, perhaps till after the striking these Berwick coins, which was probably in the same year as the capture of the place when Edward held a parliament there. We may indeed plausibly conjecture that the change of type coincided with the change of standard, which took place in 1300, when the penny was reduced from twenty-four grains to somewhat less than twenty-three and three quarters. I endeavoured to procure some confirmation of this conjecture by weighing several coins of each class separately, and also great numbers of each together, but the difference between the two weights is so small that the most trifling wear or clipping reduces the heaviest to the lightest standard; and I did not find one coin, even among the best preserved, which exceeded twenty-three grains, the exact weight of the two heaviest coins in the collection of the British Museum, one of which was struck at Berwick and the other by Robert de Hadley.

I am disposed therefore to come to the conclusion, that all the coins, upon which only the three first letters of the King's name appear, belong to Edward I.; that the large lettered coins were struck previous to the year 1300; that the smaller lettered and the star-marked coins were struck between that year and the end of his reign; that those upon which the whole name "Edwardus" appears are of Edward III.; and that all the intermediate modes of writing the King's name are of Edward II. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these conclusions are in accordance with the surmise of

Archbishop Sharp, prosecuted to a great degree of certainty by Mr. Bartlett.

The ring, which was mentioned as having been discovered with these coins, is of gold; the interior diameter being eleven-sixteenths of an inch, and the weight nearly thirty grains. It is ornamented with a scroll pattern, not very well defined; and the interior has a legend somewhat defaced, but which appears to have been SPRETA VIVVNT.

V. *Observations on the various Fashions of Hats, Bonnets, or Coverings for the head, chiefly from the reign of King Henry VIII.th to the eighteenth Century; by* John Adey Repton, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to* Nicholas Carlisle, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 19th May, 1831.

Springfield, near Chelmsford, April, 1831.

DEAR SIR,

If you consider there is any thing curious or amusing in the enclosed Drawings and Observations on Hats, you will oblige me by laying them before the Society of Antiquaries on some evening when their attention may not be directed to any more valuable Communication.

From the great difficulty in the selection of early specimens of Hats, Bonnets, or coverings for the head, I have principally confined my observations to such varieties as were worn from the reign of Henry VIII. to the 18th century. The few examples of an earlier period are chiefly selected from works well known to the Society. The quotations from different authors may perhaps throw some light upon this subject. I have confined my observations to the head-coverings of the male sex only, as I find it too laborious an undertaking to copy the endless varieties of fashions adopted by the ladies; but at some future time I may make an attempt to collect some of them. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

To Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

The word *Hat* seems to be derived from the Saxon Daet, German *hatt*, *i. e.* a cover for the head; the modern term is used in distinction from a

bonnet or cap, but anciently even a helmet was so denominated, as in the romance of Kyng Alesaunder:

> "Of sum weore the brayn outspat
> Al under theo iren hat."

Again in Richard Coer de Leon,

> "He set hys stroke on his yren hat."

"The Hat of the Saxons," says Strutt, "was I doubt not made of various materials, but by no means seems to be a part of dress universally adopted. From its general appearance, I have supposed it to have been of skins, with the shaggy part turned upwards, and probably it often might be so; but they had also felt or woollen hats at this period, which their own records testify."[a]

Great was the variety of material and colour, as well as form, of these ancient coverings; as we read of hats of felt, silk, scarlet, &c.

In a poem entitled "London Lyckpenny," by Lydgate, mention is made of "fine felt hattes, and a hode;" and in the Court of the Common Pleas "there sate one with a sylken hode."

The Marchant in the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, is described as wearing

> "On his hed a Flaundrish bever hat."

In the Freere's tale, a gay Yemen had

> "An hat upon his hed with frenges blake."

The Cronycle of Froissart, (Pynson's edition,) throws some light upon head-dresses during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. In Cap. 189 of the first volume mention is made of "hattes of biever & custrydes fethers;" and in cap. 348, "whyte hattes" are curiously recommended. Johan Lyon says, "it behovethe that in this towne of Gaunte ye renew an old auncyent custome that sometime was used in this towne; and that is, that ye brynge up agayne the whyte hattes;" and in the next chapter, "Johan Lyon spake and sayd, All you good people that be here present, ye know and heve sene

[a] Fellen þaet, a felt or woollen hat, &c.

but late, howe the whyte hattes hath better kept your fraunchesses, than outher reed or blacke hattes have done, or of any other colour." Vol. II. cap. 187, "And the Kynge [of France] had on a jacke covered with blacke velvet, which sore chafed hym, and on his head a syngle bonet of scarlet, and a chapelet of great perles," &c. "the head of the speare made a greate classe on the bright *chapewe of stele.*"

Among the Inventory of Effects belonging to Sir John Fastolfe, 1459, is "j Hatte of bever lynyd withe damaske gilt, girdell, bokkell, and penaunt [pendent], with iiij barrys of the same." And again, "ij poyntys of a hood of skarlot; j blake rydyng hoode sengle; item, ij strawen hattes; j blew hoode of the garter; rydyng hoode of blakke felwet; j prikkyng hat cover'd with blake felwet." [b]

In one of the MSS. of Froissart's Chronicle, in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 4379, there is a painting representing a convocation of Cardinals, some of whom have *blue* gowns and hats, and others *red.*

In the Journal of Beckington, secretary to Henry VI. 1442, is mentioned a "scarlet hat given as a new year's gift."

In the Ship of Fools, imprinted by W. de Worde, 1517, is an account of wearing the "ample bonnets with low necks, and guerded like as it were for despite, and thereupon the great hats that is set all upon one side," &c.[c]

The following extracts from Hall's Chronicle may be interesting. First year of Henry IV.th Of the conspirators under the Duke of Exeter, "one parte had their plumes all white, another had them all redde, and the third had them of several colours: one ware on his head-piece his ladies sleve, and another bare on his helme the glove of his dearlyng."

Fifth of Henry VIIIth. The king had "on his head a chapeau montabyn, with a riche coronal, the folde of the chapeau was lined with crimsyn saten, and on that a rich brooch with the image of Sainct George."

Without entering into the minute details of the banquets, &c. during the reign of Henry VIIIth., it will be sufficient to mention there were "hattes powdered with armyns;" "hattes of cremosyn velvet;" "hattes after

[b] Archæol. vol. xxi.

[c] See a curious description of the dress in Dibdin's Typ. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 218.

dauncers' fashion, with feasaunt's fethers in them;" "bonnettes of whyte velvet wrapped in flat golde of damaske;" "bonnets of clothe of silver, wounde with golde," &c.

In the Wardrobe account of Henry VIIIth. we find mentioned, "a hatte of grene velvette, embrowdered with grene silke lace, and lyned with grene sarcenette;" and again, "Item, for making of three cappies of velvette, the one yalowe, the other orange coloure, and the thirde grene," &c.; and for William Som'ar, the king's fool, "a cappe of grene clothe, fringed with red crule, and lined with fryse," &c.[d]

The next quotation is from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIIIth. edited by Nicolas.

"For divers bonetts, as well rydyng bonnetts, trymmed and untrymmed.

"Paied to Rydley the taylor for a bote of Kendall, and for a hatt, and for making and lyning of the same, xix^s^ x^d^.

"Item, paied for a hatte and a plume for the king in Boleyn, xv^s^.

"Item, the same day, paied for garnasshing of 2 bonnetts and for the said hatte, xxiii^s^ iiii^d^.

"Paid to blak John the hardewareman for bonetts for young Weston.

"1530. Hardwareman for a bonet trymmed with ribbande."

On examining the old tapestry,[e] where the bonnets are more minutely made out than in rude wood-cuts, they appear to be executed either in needle-work or printed calico. The rims, or borders[f] of the caps have several cuts, probably more for the convenience of *bending* to fit the head of the wearer, than from the prevailing fashion of the time of Henry VIIIth. The undersides of the bonnets are sometimes plaited with cloth, or silk, or ornamented with ribbands in knots.

In the engravings of Froissart's Chronicle, we find that hoods were worn during that period, and sometimes under the hat.[g]

Among the great variety of coverings for the head in Plate XXXV. there appears a fur hat, and another of straw, some appear with, and some without any rim, and some with a sugar-loaf shaped crown. In fig. 15 to 19, which are copied

[d] Archaeol. vol. ix.

[e] See Plate XXXVI.

[f] And sometimes the crown; see Plate XXXVII. fig. 2.

[g] See Plate XXXV. fig. 1 to 14.

from engravings of the deposition of Richard II. we again meet with hoods sometimes covered with a bonnet or cap.

In referring to the Canterbury Tales, we find that Chaucer's Reve was rewarded by his master with "thanks, a cote, and hood;" and Chaucer's Monk,

> "For to fasten his hood under his chinne,
> He had of gold ywrought a curious pin."

In Piers Plowman we find that *Covertise* had

> "A hode on his head, and a lousie hatte."

Hall's Chronicle, under the 10th year of Henry VIth., mentions "a great company, all clothed in redde satin, with blew whoddes."

About the reign of Henry VIIth. bonnets and caps were much worn, as appears from the wood-cuts in the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493.[h]

In 14th Henry VIIIth. six noblemen had "hoods and bonnettes of cloth of gold." The 16th Henry VIIIth. mentions "cappes and whoddes all of gold."—"The Bishop of Scotland was much marked this day, for whensoever he came to the court before this time, his apparell was sumptuous, his whodde was ever velvet or crimosyn satyn; but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke chamlet, by whiche token men judged his French harte."

At the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the Aldermen "toke their hoddes from their necks, and cast them about their shoulders;" and "also divers officers of the kinge's house, beyng no lordes, had circottes and hoddes of scarlet edged with myniver," &c. "Miniver furrs" for a hood is also mentioned in Scoggin's Jests. In Skelton's "Why come ye not to Court?"

> "Ye may weare a cockes coome,
> Your fond hed in a furred hood," &c.

Before I proceed to notice hats of a period subsequent to the time of Henry VIIIth., I would make some observations on the ***Broad-brimmed Hats***, beginning with those of the Cardinals.

In old paintings, the Cardinal's hat is represented as having a very broad

[h] See Plate XXXV. We also find specimens of hoods.

brim, but the projection is much less in sculpture, from the difficulty of execution. This is seen in the effigy of Cardinal Beaufort in Winchester Cathedral. That the broad-brimmed hat was worn by Cardinals, is confirmed by Shakspeare's Henry VIth. part i.

Glouc.—" I'll canvas thee in thy broad Cardinal's hat."

The broad-brimmed hat was not confined to Cardinals only, but was sometimes used by a mere priest, as in one of Lady Montague's letters, dated from Nimeguen, 1716: " I was yesterday at the French church, and stared very much at the manner of the service. The parson clapped on a broad-brimmed hat in the first place, which gave him the air of *What d'ye call him* in Bartholomew Fair," &c.

But to return to the Cardinals. The broad-brimmed hat is represented in the engravings of Froissart's Chronicle, and also in the Nuremberg Chronicle, printed in 1493.

That the Cardinals' hats were red, is confirmed by the following quotation from Froissart's Chronicle, cap. 327: " And cryed to the cardynalles, and sayd, 'Sirs, advyse yowe well, if ye delyver us a Pope Romayne, we be content, or else we woll make your heddes reeder then your hattes be.' "

In Hall's Chronicle we have a quaint account of the sending a Cardinal's hat to Bishop Fisher. " It is sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him, and stoode so stifly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as far as Caleys, but the head it should have stande on was as high as London Bridge or ever the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, and then it was too late, and therefore he neither wore it nor enjoyed his office."

From the broad-brimmed hat of the Cardinals, let us turn to those of the *Quakers*, now more politely called the *Friends*.

Barclay, in his Apology, declares, p. 515, "that it is not lawful for Christians to kneel or prostrate themselves to any man, or to bow the body, or to *uncover the head to them*." He complains of the unfriendly treatment of the Friends, that " many of us have been *sorely beaten and buffetted*; yea, and several months *imprisoned*, for no other reason but because we could

not so satisfie the proud *unreasonable humours of proud men, as to uncover our heads, and bow our bodies.* Nor doth our innocent practice of standing still, though upright, not putting off our *hats* any more than our *shoes*, the one being the covering of our heads, as well as the other of our feet, shew so much rudeness, as their beating and knocking us, &c. because we cannot *bow* to them contrary to our conscience."

I have not met with any print or drawing of the dress of the primitive Quakers: the earliest specimens of their hats are copied from an old French work, entitled "Memoire et Observation faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre, 1698." The following extract from that work may be interesting: "Les Quacres sont de grands fanatiques. Il paroit en eux quelque chose de loüable; il semble qu'ils soient doux, simples à tous égards, sobres, modestes, paisables; ils ont même la reputation d'être fidèles, et cela est souvent vrai. Mais il ne faut pas s'y tromper, car il y a souvent aussi bien du fard dans tout cet exterieur."

The next quotation is curious, as shewing some small improvement in the manners of the Quakers, in the course of forty-eight years from the first institution of their sect in the year 1650. "Plusieurs d'entre eux, depuis quelques années, s'humanisent un peu, à l'égard de la salutation; ils n'otent pas le chapeau, Dieu les garde de commettre cet horrible péché; mais ils commencent a baisser un peu le menton, à faire une espèce de petite inclination de tête," &c.[k]

The fashion which prevails among the higher ranks of society, in all ages, will be soon imitated by the inferior order; but, as Pope says,

> "Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;
> The rest is all but leather or prunello:"

the deception is always discovered.

Ben Jonson, act iii. sc. 4, of the Magnetic Lady, says,

> "Altho he ha' got his head into a beaver,
> With a huge feather, 's but a currier's son."

[k] These hats of the quakers are placed in the middle of Plate XLI. to shew how far they appear to correspond with those which prevailed in the reign of Charles I. or II.

Evelyn, in his "Tyrannus, or the Mode," says, "How many times have I saluted the fine man for the master; and stood with my hat off to the gay feather, when I found the bird to be all this while but a daw; *eripitur persona, manet res*; for so the asse wore the lion's skin, but never thought of hideing his eares," &c.

In the Spectator, N°. 319, "A person wearing the *mixed feather*, being taken for an officer in the Guards, has proved to be an arrant linen draper."

In an account of Bartholomew Fair in 1740, there is a description of the renowned Tiddy Doll, "who was dressed in a very fashionable suit of white, trimmed with gold lace, a lace ruffled shirt, &c., and a large cocked hat formed of gingerbread, fringed and garnished with Dutch gold.[l] In the same page is described the amiable Frederick Prince of Wales, as wearing a small three-cornered silk Court hat.

In the Spectator, No. 202, is mentioned a blacksmith's 'prentice-boy wearing a "Hat and cut-perriwig, and calling himself a Gentleman's son."

So late as the year 1800, the celebrated conjuror Highman Palatine was seen at Bath, wearing a rich gold-laced coat, ruffles, &c. and at the same time appeared an old nobleman with the splendid dress of a courtier, who was mistaken for the conjuror.

After the reign of Henry the Eighth, hats seem to have been worn by persons of rank or property. The common people are mostly represented with plain bonnets or caps.[m]

By a note to one of Shakspeare's plays, we find woollen caps were enjoined by Act of Parliament in the year 1571, the 13th of Elizabeth: "Besides the Bills passed into Acts of this Parliament, there was one which I judge not amiss to be taken notice of: it concerned the Queen's care for employment for her poor sort of subjects. It was for continuance of making and wearing woollen caps, in behalf of the trade of Cappers; providing that all above the age of six years (except the nobility and some others) should, on *Sabbath days* and *Holidays*, wear caps of wool, knit and drest in England, upon penalty of ten groats.[n]

[l] See Every-day Book.

[m] See Fox's Book of Martyrs, published in the reign of Elizabeth.

[n] Vide Strype's Ann. of Queen Elizabeth.

The following quotations on Caps are here inserted:

"Well, better wits have worn plain *statute caps.*"

Love's Labour Lost, Act V. sc. ii.

"In a bowling alley in a *flat cap* like a shopkeeper."

News from Hell, 1606.

The Mother Red Cap, represented at this present day on a sign-post as wearing a high-crowned hat instead of a cap, is probably incorrect.

That Clergymen formerly wore woollen caps, may be seen by the following quotation from the Life of Long Meg of Westminster: "The foule ill take me mistresse, quoth Meg, if I misreckon the limmer lowne one penny; and therefore, Vicar, I tell thee, 'fore thou goe out of these doores, I 'le make thee pay every farthing, if thy *Cap be of wooll.*"

To describe the Apprentices in 1558, a quotation is given from the "Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre par Estienne Perlin." "Vous voyrres à Londres les apprentis avec des robbes contre leurs bouticques, nud testes, & contre la muraille de leur maison tellement qu'en passant parmi les rues, vous en trouveres cinquante ou soixante contre les murailles comme idoles, ayans leurs boñetz à la main."

In the Memoires et Observations, &c. 1698, page 8. "Un Aprentis est un espèce d'esclave, qui n'a jamais ni chapeau ni bonnet sur sa tête."

In page 273, concerning the Jews: "Les Juifs de Londres (je ne sçache pas qu'il y'en ait ailleurs en Angleterre) ont peu à peu quitté le Chapeau jaune qu'ils étoient autrefois obligés de porter; et presentement ils ne portent aucune marque de distinction."

Among the many curious and interesting Letters illustrative of English History, edited by Henry Ellis, Esq. is the following account of a visit to the Jewish Synagogue in London in 1662: "Every man had a large white vest, covering, or veil, cast over the high crown of his hat, which from thence hung down on all sides, covering ye whole hat, the shoulders, arms, sides, and back to the girdle place, nothing to be seen but a little of the face," &c. And again, "I saw each Jew, at his first entrance into the place, did first bow down towards the Ark wherein the Law was kept, but with his hat on, which they never do put off in this place, but a stranger must."[o]

The following quotation from a printed tract of fourteen leaves, "Vox

[o] Second Series, Letter cccix.

Borealis, 1641, is taken from the Censura Literatura, vol. vi. "They say in London that the cause of this combustion proceedeth from a quarrell for superiority between black capps and blew capps, the one affirming that cater-capps keep square dealing, and the other tells them that cater-caps are like caterpillars, which devoure all where they may be suffered; and the round caps tell the other, that their capps are never out of order, turn it which way you will; and they stand stiffly to it, that blew capps are true capps, and better than black ones."

Blue-caps was a name of ridicule given to the Scots, from their *blue bonnets*. There is an old ballad called *Blue Cap for me*.

> "A Scottish lass her resolute chusing,
> She'll have bonny *blew cap*, all other refusing."
> Reed's Shakspeare.

In a note to one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, (The Knight of the Burning Pestle,) it is mentioned, that "to cap Ralph" means, to arrest him. But in the comedy of Old Fortunatus, by Decker, 1600, it appears to have a different meaning—to take off the cap.

"Are you content to wear the jewels by turns? I'll have the purse for a year, you the hat, and as much gold as you 'll ask; and when my pursership ends, I'll resign, and *cap you*," i. e. take off your cap from you.

To cap, means to be supple and courteous to the people; *bonneted*, that is, to pull off one's cap. So, in the Academic style, *to cap* a fellow, is to take off the cap to him.[p]

The same will apply to the hat. Coriolanus, in speaking of courting the mob, says, "since the wisdom of their choice is rather to have my hat than my heart, I will practise the insinuating nod, and be off to them most counterfeitly," &c.

Among the expenses of a nobleman at college about 1577,[q] we find "a broad riding hat;" "a felt hat lined with velvet."

In the Booke of the Inventory of the goods of my Lord Admiralles men [1598] we have, "iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, xviii copes and hattes, i whitte hatte, i hat for Robin Hood, iij donnes hattes."

[p] See note in Reed's Shakspeare.

[q] See Ellis's Letters, Second Series, ccviii.

The most curious fashion of the head-dress which prevailed about the reign of Elizabeth was the high-crowned hat. One of the earliest specimens I have been able to collect is that of Douglas Earl of Morton (1553—1581).[r]

The following note from Reed's Shakspeare may throw some light upon the subject: "*A Capatain Hat* is, I believe, a hat with a conical crown, such as was anciently worn by well dressed men. This kind of hat is twice mentioned by Gascoigne, see Herbes, page 154."

"A Coptankt hat made on a Flemish blocke;"

"And again in his Epilogue, p. 216,

"With high *copt hats* and feathers flaunts a flaunt."[s]

As Stubb's Anatomie of Abuses is extremely difficult to be met with, the following quotations relating to Hats, from a copy in the British Museum, dated 1585, may not be undeserving of notice. The first quotation is inserted in Mr. Strutt's "Habits of the People of England;" but, as it does not exactly correspond with this, it must have been taken from a different edition than the copy in the British Museum. "Sometimes they use them sharpe on the crowne, pearking up like the spere, or shaft of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yarde above the crowne of their heades, some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their inconstant mindes. Othersome be flat, and broade on the crowne, like the battlementes of a house. An other sorte have rounde crownes, sometimes with one kinde of band, sometimes with an other, now black, now white, now russed, now redde, now grene, now yellowe; now this, now that; never content with one colour or fashion, two daies to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spend the Lorde his treasure, consuming there golden yeres, and silver daies, in wickednesse and sinne. And as the fashions be rare and straunge, so is the stuffe whereof their hattes be made divers also; for some are of silke, some of velvet, some of taffatie, some of sarcenet, some of wooll, and, which is more curious, some

[r] See Plate XXXIX. fig. 3.

[s] From a translation of Don Quevedon's Visions, 1656, the coptanck hat appears at that time to have been considered as old fashioned. "Ye can't see a high-crown'd hat, or a thread-bare cloak, &c. nay not so much as a reverend matron, well stricken in years, but presently ye cry this or that's of the mode or date of *Queen Dick*."

of a certaine kinde of fine haire. These they call bever hattes, of xx. xxx. or xl. shillings price, fetched from beyonde the seas, from whence a greate sorte of other vanities doe come besides. And so common a thing it is, that every servyng man, countreimen, and other, even all indifferently doe weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men, if he have not a velvet or taffatie hat, and that must be pinched and cunningly carved of the best fashion. And good profitable hattes be these, for the longer you weare them, the fewer holes they have. Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearing their hattes sprong up amongst them, which they father upon the *Frenchmen*, namely to wear them without bandes, but how unsemely (I will not say how assie) a fashion that is, let the wise judge. Notwithstanding, however it be, if it please them, it shall not displease me. And an other sort (as phantastical as the rest) are content with no kinde of hat, without a greate bunche of feathers of divers and sondrie colours, peaking on top of their heades, not unlike (I dare not saie) cockescombes, but as *sternes of pride*, and *ensignes of vanity*. And yet, notwithstanding these fluttering sailes and feathered flagges of defiance to vertue (for so they be) are so advanced in *Ailgna*, that every child hath them in his hat or cap; many get good living by dying and selling of them, and a few prove themselves more than fooles in wearyng of them. These feathers argue the lightnesse of their fond imaginations, and plainely convince them of instabilitie of folly, for sure I am, handsome they cannot be; therefore badges of pride they must need be, whiche I thinke none will weare but suche as be like themselves."

The *square* caps seem mostly confined to the ecclesiasticks, as the Cardinals, and Bishops.[t] In Stubb's Anatomie, 2nd part, 1583, is a singular passage relating to the head-dress of the clergy :—

"*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a Minister of the Gospell to weare a surplesse, a tippet, or forked cappe, and the like other kind of attire?

"*Amphel.* As they are commanded by the Pope, the great Antichrist of the worlde, they ought not to weare them: but, as they are commanded and enjoyned by a Christian Prince, they may weare them without scruple of conscience," &c. And again, "the cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie and represent the whole monarchy of the world, east,

[t] See Plates XXXVIII. and XL.

west, north, and south, the government whereof standeth upon them, as the cappe doth upon their heddes."

The following extract is from a curious letter in the British Museum, from James the First to his son and favourite, when at Madrid in 1623, and relates to the fashion of wearing jewels in the hat. "I send you for youre wearing the Three Brethren that ye knowe full well, but newlie sette, and the Mirroure of Frawnce, the fellowe of the Portugall dyamont, quhiche I wolde wishe you to weare alone in your hatte, with a litle blakke feather." "As for thee, my sweete Gosseppe, I sende thee a faire table dyamonde, quhiche I wolde once have gevin thee before, if thow wolde have taken it, and I have hung a faire peare pearle to it for wearing on thy hatte, or quhaire thow plaisis; and if my Babie will spaire thee the two long dyamonts in forme of an anker, with the pendant dyamont, it were fit for an Admirall[t] to weare, and he hath enowgh better jewells for his Mistresse. . . . . If my Babie will not spaire the anker from his Mistresse, he may well lende thee his rownde broache to weare, and yett he shall have jewells to weare in his hatte for three great dayes."

Beaver hats were formerly called castors. Nieuhoff's Travels in 1663 mentions "a castor hatt with a silver hat-band."

Bulwer in his "Artificial Changling, 1653," gives a curious account not only of the Hat, but also of the Head. The first scene describes the different fashions or shapes of the heads of different Nations, as the sugar-loaf like heads, the long heads, the short heads, the round heads, the broad heads, thin narrow heads, dogs heads, &c. and lastly, he gives us the true figure; then, Blockheads and Loggerheads.

In page 11, he mentions, "that the French are observed to have their heads somewhat orbicular, to which their disposition and naturall temper is analogicall. And the unnaturalnesse of the figure leads us to suspect ye artifices of the nurse's hand to concur to their conformation; therefore, the French haberdashers being furnished only with hats proportionable for such heads, have much ado to fit an Englishman's head with a hat, insomuch as when they fall upon this difficulty, they are wont to tell him that his head is not à la mode."

Bulwer most learnedly recommends the round heads, affirming, "that a

[t] The Duke of Buckingham was Lord High Admiral.

head that has angles argues an impediment of judgment and ratiocination. For even as an echo is less oppositely formed in angular buildings than in an arch or winding rounds, so the vigour of judgment is more flourishing in a skull naturally round than in heads knotty and angular," &c.

In the Appendix, exhibiting the pedigree of an English Gallant, he mentions the "Vanity of Apparell," and has given several wood-cuts, representing men deformed in person as well as dress. He says of the high-crowned hats, "I pray what were our sugar-loofe hats, so mightily affected of late both by men and women, so incommodious for us, that every puffe of wind deprived us of them, requiring the employment of one hand to keep them on."

He next describes the Square Caps "as much affected by them, who desired to be accounted solid men and *capitis quadrati.* And the City flat caps imitate the Brasilian flat head, and is no other than a Grecian or Gallo-Grecian round headnisme."[u]

Before the reign of Charles II. the high-crowned hat began to be less worn, that monarch in his escape is described as disguised, and wearing "a very greasy old grey steeple-crowned hat, with the brim turned up, without lining or hatband."[v]

The following quotation from Evelyn's "Tyrannus" may be worthy of of notice: "The wisest and most healthy of the ancients went continually bare-headed; so *Massinissa, Cæsar,* so *Hannibal* used to go: but when I must be covered, I infinitely prefer the *Buckingamo* or *Montero,*[w] lately reformed, before any other whatever, because it is most manly, useful, and steady. I have heard, that when a Turk would execrate one that displeases him, he wishes him as unstable as a Christian's hat; and in effect 'tis observed that no man can plant it on another man's head, but the owner do's immediately alter it, nor is it ever certain. All that can be reply'd in its behalf is, that it shades the face; but so would a tuff of feathers in the *Montero,* which is light and serviceable when the sun is hot, and at other times ornamental."

[u] See Pl. XL. figg. 31, 32, 33.

[v] Stukeley's It. Curiosa.

[w] Montera-ro, Spanish, a Hunter or Horseman's Cap.—Cole's Dictionary.

"His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish Montera."—Bacon.

In one of Heywood's plays, "A Challenge for Beauty," 1636, there is a song describing the characteristic fashions of various nations, in words which will equally apply to the present period. And that Russian fur hattes or caps were worn by that nation still earlier than the time in which he writes, may be found in Hall's Chronicle, when describing a mask in the court of Henry VIII. "that after ye fashion of Russia or Ruslande with *furred hattes* of grey on their heedes."

Speed's Maps likewise shew the head-dresses of the Turks, Persians, &c. in 1610.

Heywood's Song, to which I have alluded, is:

"The Turk in linen wraps his head,
The Persian his in lawn too,
The Russe with sables furs his cap,
And change will not be drawn to;

"The Spaniards constant to his block,
The French inconstant ever;
But of all felts that may be felt,
Give me your English beaver."

The next subject of investigation is the *Ornaments* belonging to Hats or Caps. First, The *Feathers*. It is difficult to form any idea of them from the rude wood-cuts seen in the early printed books; we can only ascertain their forms from the remains of ancient tapestry, or old paintings. I have selected a few specimens of Bonnets from some curious tapestry in my possession,[x] which may likewise serve to explain the details of the Bonnets in the Triumph of Maximilian.

The magnificent plume of feathers of King Henry VIII. is thus described in Pegge's Anonymiana, c. vii. 82. "The Pennachio is a plume of feathers on a helmet. King Henry VIII. when he entered Bolenge, had one consisting of eight feathers of some Indian bird, and the length of each was four feet and a half. It was esteemed so valuable as to have been a proper ransom for the King had he been taken." "The King wore also a single feather on his bonnet or hat at other times, as does his son Edward VI."

[x] See Plate XXXVI.

In looking over Plate XXXVII. we find not only the ostrich but also the peacock feather was sometimes worn, as fig. 3. In fig. 7, we find the end of the feathers finished with tassels.

In the Bouge of Courte, by Skelton, *Riot* is described as having,

> " An eestriche fedder of a capon's tayle
> " He set up fresshely upon his hat alofte."

Plumes round the hats are thus described: " They had hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours, set round like hatbands." Bacon.

The next, from Decker's Horn-book, 1609: " When your noblest gallants consecrate their hours to their mistresses, and to revelling, they wear feathers then chiefly in their hats, being one of ye fairest ensigns of their bravery."

That feathers were worn as late as the reign of Queen Anne, may be found in the Tatler, No. 7; it mentions " The bridegroom's feathers on his hat all drooped," &c. No. 11, Hat and feather. No. 48, a feather on his hat.

Even down to the end of the last century, the feather has always been considered as giving the wearer a noble appearance. And in China, when granted by the Emperor, it is considered a mark of honour. Of the Chinese, " some were honoured with peacock's feathers stuck in an agate tube, and pendent from the bonnet. In this dignity there are three degrees, according to the number of feathers granted to the wearer. He to whom three feathers had been presented by Imperial favour, thought himself thrice great and happy!" [y]

The next ornament attached to the hat is the *Brooch*; which was sometimes highly enriched, and of great value.

In a note to Shakspeare by Steevens, " A Brooch was a cluster of gems affixed to a pin, and anciently worn in the hats of people of distinction," &c.

In Ben Jonson's Poetaster: " Honour's a good *broach* to wear in a man's hat at all times." Again, in the Magnetic Lady, " The broach to any true state cap in Europe.'

y Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 227.

Other ornaments were formerly used in the hat, as in the Tale of the Tub, by Ben Jonson:

> "And his hat turned up
> With a silver clasp on his leer side."

So Timon of Athens, Act III. "He gave me a jewel the other day, and now he has beat it out of my hat.

Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, seems to ridicule the ornaments upon hats: "When the Anatolian ambassadors arrived, the children seeing them with pearls on their hats, said to their mothers, 'See, mother! how they wear pearls and precious stones, as if they were children again!' 'Hush,' returned the mothers, 'those are not the ambassadors, but ye ambassador's fools.'"

The following note to "Antonio and Mellida," mentions, that "a Hat-band was a very distinguishing feature of the nobility and gentry of those times, on the adornment of which comparatively large sums were sometimes expended. The Cable hat-band appears to have been introduced about 1599, as from a speech of Fastidio in Every Man Out of his Humour. 'I had a gold cable hat-band, *then new come up*, of massie goldsmith's work.'" It is again adverted to in the same play.

To wear a glove on their hat or cap was an ancient custom "on three distinct occasions, viz. as a favour of a mistress, the memorial of a friend, and as a mark to be challenged by an enemy."

A hat with black feathers was considered as melancholy.[z]

The ancient custom of placing Yew in the hat in mourning, is mentioned in Prince Henrie's Obsequies, by G. Withers (1633), Eleg. 16.

> "But then, why mourn I not to open view?
> In sable robes, according to the rites?
> Why is my hat without a branch of yeugh?"

The Welsh wore the Leek on their Monmouth Caps on St. David's day, which is considered by them as an honourable *padge* of the service. It would not be safe to attack a Welshman on this custom for fear of being treated like that "rascally, scald, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave Pistol," and being compelled to "eat our victuals." The leek can hardly be considered a

[z] See Bibliog. vol. II. p. 549.

sweet ornament. The Society of Ancient Britons in London wear an artificial representation of the leek, composed of ribbands and silver foils, being less offensive to the olfactory nerves.

To return to the account of Hats. On examining Plate XXXIX. we may perceive a variety of the high-crowned hat, and Plate XL. shews that they continued as late as the time of Charles II.; but before that period the *rim* became remarkably broad, and when much worn they were liable to hang down, and from thence were called "slouched hats."[a] The broad-brimmed hat surrounded with feathers placed round the rim prevailed in the reign of Charles II., and continued during great part of that of William III.[b] But, from the inconvenience of the broad-brim, one flap was made to lift up, and was placed either in front, or the back of the head; and about the same time we begin to perceive two flaps turned up,[c] when about the reign of Queen Anne the third flap was introduced, which formed the complete cocked hat.

Concerning the Hats which prevailed during the reign of Queen Anne, the following extracts may be worthy of notice:

First, from the Tatler, No. 94, "for, if they stare at me with their hats cocked higher than other people, I wont bear it."

No. 96. "And a hat hung upon one side of the head, shall signify a smart;" again, "Whilst he cocked up his hat."

No. 270. Is a petition of a Haberdasher of Hats, "that the use of gold and silver galloon upon hats has been almost universal, being undistinguishably worn by soldiers, squires, lords, footmen, beaus, sportsmen," &c. and "that by wearing such hats upon their heads, instead of under their arms, they would last so much longer. That the hats shall frequent all the winter the finest and best assemblies without any ornament at all, and in May shall be tricked up with gold or silver, to keep company with rustics, and ride in the rain."

[a] Gervase Markham (1607) has given a complete description of the Horseman's apparel, by recommending "a hat which will sit close and firme upon your heade, with an indifferent narrow verge or brim; so that, in the saults or bounds of the horse, it may neither through widenesse or unwieldinesse fall from your head, nor with the breadth of the brim fall into your eies, and impeach your sight, both which are verie grosse errors."

[b] See Plate XLI.

[c] See Plate XLI. figg. 7, 9, and 10.

The Spectator, No. 38, speaks of "a well-tied cravat, and hat cocked with an uncommon briskness."

No. 109 speaks of the "Vast jetting coat and small bonnet, which was the habit in Henry the Seventh's time, and is kept on in the Yeomen of the Guard, not without a good and politick view, because they look a foot taller, and a foot and a half broader: besides that the cap leaves the face expanded, and consequently more terrible, and fitter to stand at the entrance of palaces."

No. 129 mentions a "hat that was shaped in the Ramilie Cock;" again, "during our progress through the most western parts of the kingdom, we fancied ourselves in King Charles the Second's reign, the people having made very little variations in their dress since that time. The smartest of the country Squires appear still in the Monmouth Cock."

No. 354. "I have known a fellow with a burthen on his head steal a hand down from his load, and slily twirl the cock of a Squire's hat behind him," &c.

In No. 526, John Sly, who was a "haberdasher of hats and tobacconist, between the cities of London and Westminster," namely, at the end of Devereux Court, is directed, among his other observations on the passing throng, "to write down the names of such country gentlemen as, upon the approach of peace, have left the Hunting for the Military Cock of the hat;" and in No. 532 is a letter written in the name of Mr. John Sly, in which he states, that he "is preparing hats for the several kind of heads that make figures in the realms of Great Britain, with Cocks significant of their powers and faculties. His hats for men of the faculties of Law and Physick do but just turn up to give a little life to their sagacity; his military hats glare full in the face; and he has prepared a familiar easy Cock for all good companions between the above mentioned extremes." It is added, that "the young Divines about town are many of them got into the Cock Military."

The Cocked hat in the middle of the last century was considered as a mark of gentility, and as a distinction from the lower orders, who wore round hats. In the Rambler, dated 1751, there is a letter from a young gentleman, who says that his mother exclaimed "she would rather follow

me to the grave, than see me tear my cloaths, and hang down my head, and sneak about with dirty shoes, and blotted fingers, hair unpowdered and a *hat uncocked.*" (No. 109.)

The education of a young gentleman was attended with all the correctness of a dancing-master. In the Rambler, No. 194, ap upil is mentioned that "he became in a few days a perfect master of his hat, which with a careless nicety he could put off or on without any need to adjust it by a second motion."

In the Adventurer, 1753, No. 100, is a description of a person gradually metamorphosed from a Greenhorn into a Blood. "I cut off my hair, and procured a brown bob perriwig of Wilding, of the same colour, with a single row of curls just round the bottom, which I wore very nicely combed, and without powder: my hat, which had been cocked with great exactness in an equilateral triangle, I discarded, and purchased one of a more fashionable size, the fore corner of which projected near two inches further than those on each side, and was moulded into the shape of a spout." He afterwards altered the cut of his hat: "the fore corner of my hat was considerably elevated, and shortened, so that it no longer resembled a spout, but the corners of a minced pye."

In the World, No. 122, a periodical paper, 1755, is an account of a poor physician walking in the streets of London in a threadbare coat, &c. "and a hat void of shape and colour under my arm; which I assure you I do not carry there for ornament, nor for fear of damaging my wig, but to point out to those who pass by that I am a physician."

In No. 202 of the above paper, the military hat is thus described:

> "That hat adorns his head,
> Grac'd and distinguish'd by the smart cockade.
> Conspicuous badge! which only heroes wear," &c.

The following account of hats from the London Chronicle, vol. XI. for 1762, page 167, may be interesting:

"First Chapter, of Hats; after Hippocrates.

"Hats are now worn, upon an average, six inches and three-fifths broad in the brim, and cocked between Quaker and Kevenhuller. Some have their hats open before, like a church-spout, or the tin scales they weigh flower in; some wear them rather sharper, like the nose of a greyhound; and we can distinguish by the taste of the hat, the mode of the wearer's mind. There is a military cock, and the mercantile cock; and while the beaux of St. James's wear their hats under their arms, the beaux of Morefields-mall wear theirs diagonally over their left or right eye; sailors wear the sides of their hats uniformly tucked down to the crown; and look as if they carried a triangular apple-pasty upon their heads.

"I hope no person will think us disaffected, but when we meet any of the new-raised infantry wearing the buttons of their hats bluff before, and the trefoil white worsted shaking as they step, we cannot help thinking of French figure dancers.

"With Quakers it is a point of their faith not to wear a button or a loop tight up, their hats spread over their heads like a pent-house, and darken the outward man, to signify that they have the inward light.

"Some wear their hats (with the corners, which should come over their foreheads, in a direct line) pointed into the air; those are the Gawkies.

"Others do not above half cover their heads, which is indeed owing to the shallowness of their crowns; but between beaver and eyebrows expose a piece of blank forehead, which looks like a sandy road in a surveyor's plan. Indeed, people should hide as much of the face under their hats as possible; for very few there are but what have done something for which they ought to be out of countenance, &c.

"A man with a hat larger than common, represents the fable of the mountain in labour; and the hat edged with a gold binding belongs to the brothers of the turf."

When three-cornered hats began to go out of fashion about fifty years ago, some wit of the day named them, "Egham, Staines, and Windsor," in allusion to the direction-post made in that form.

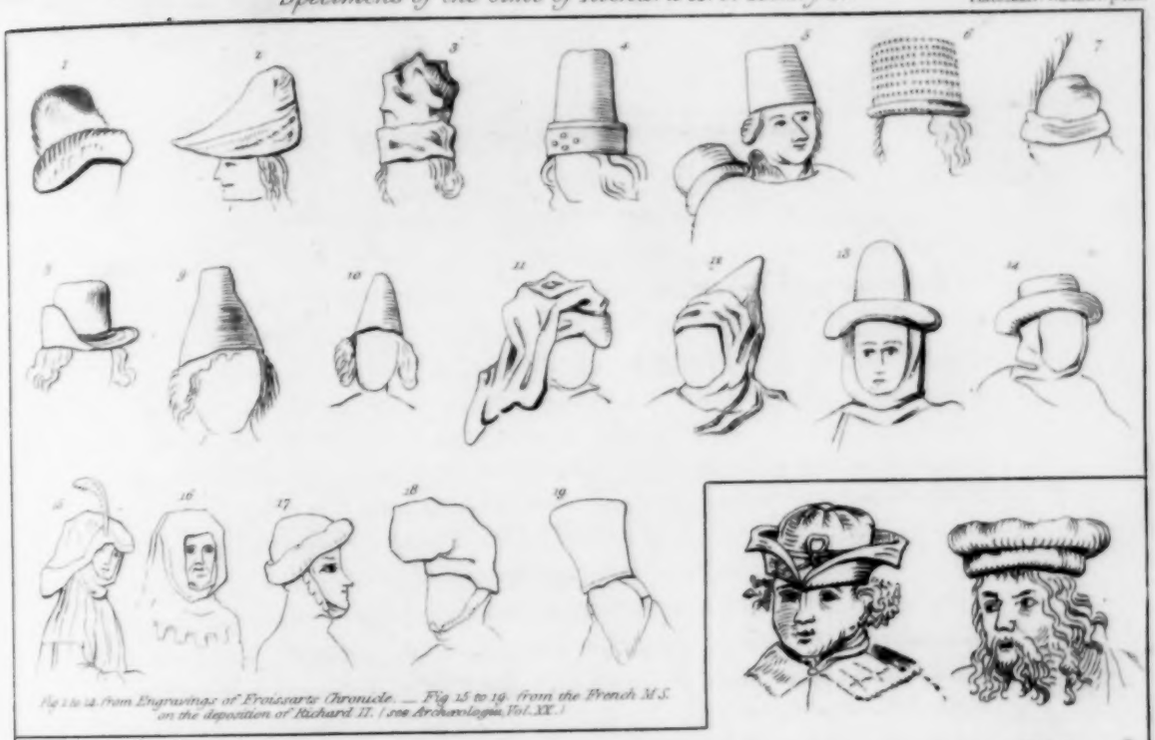
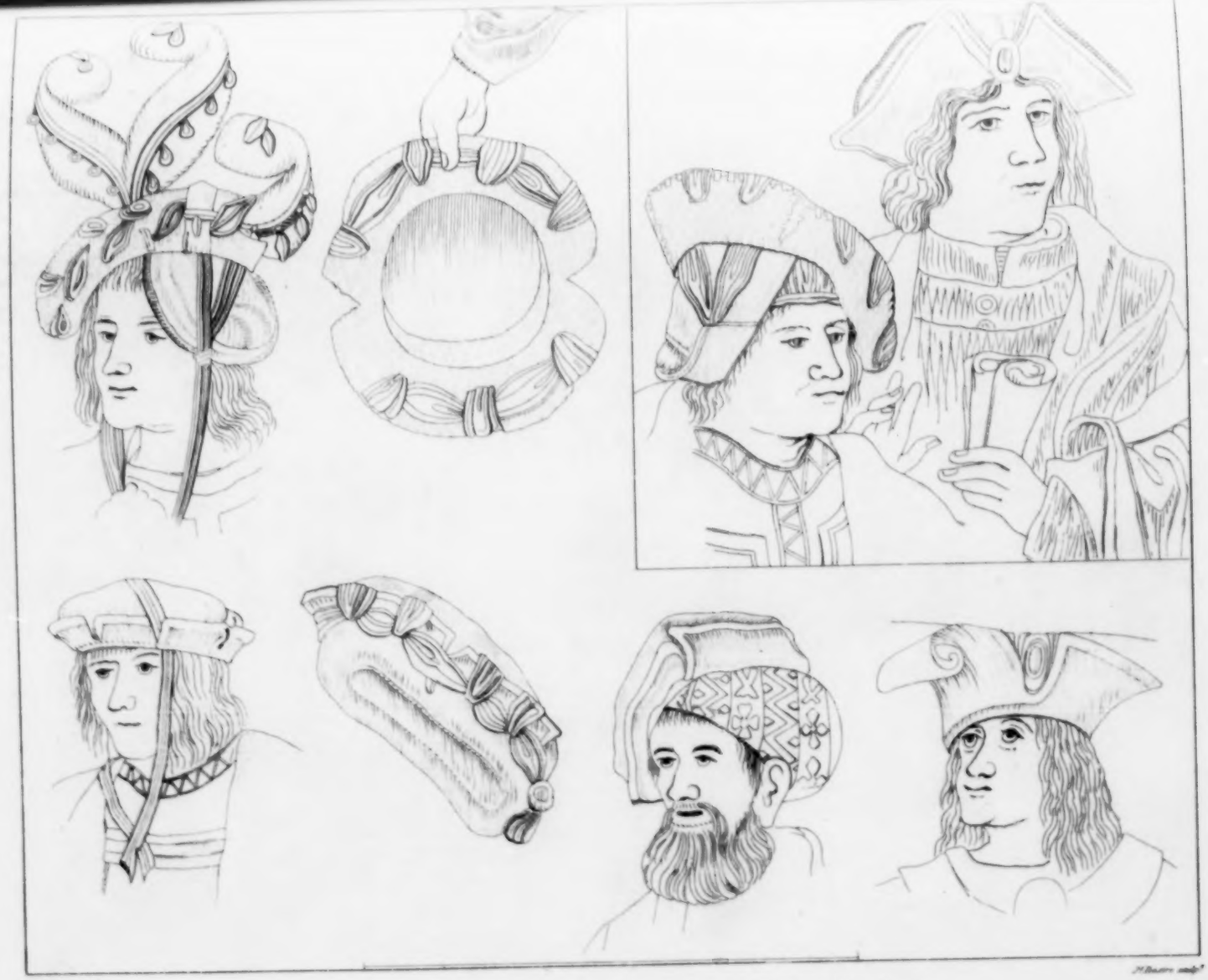


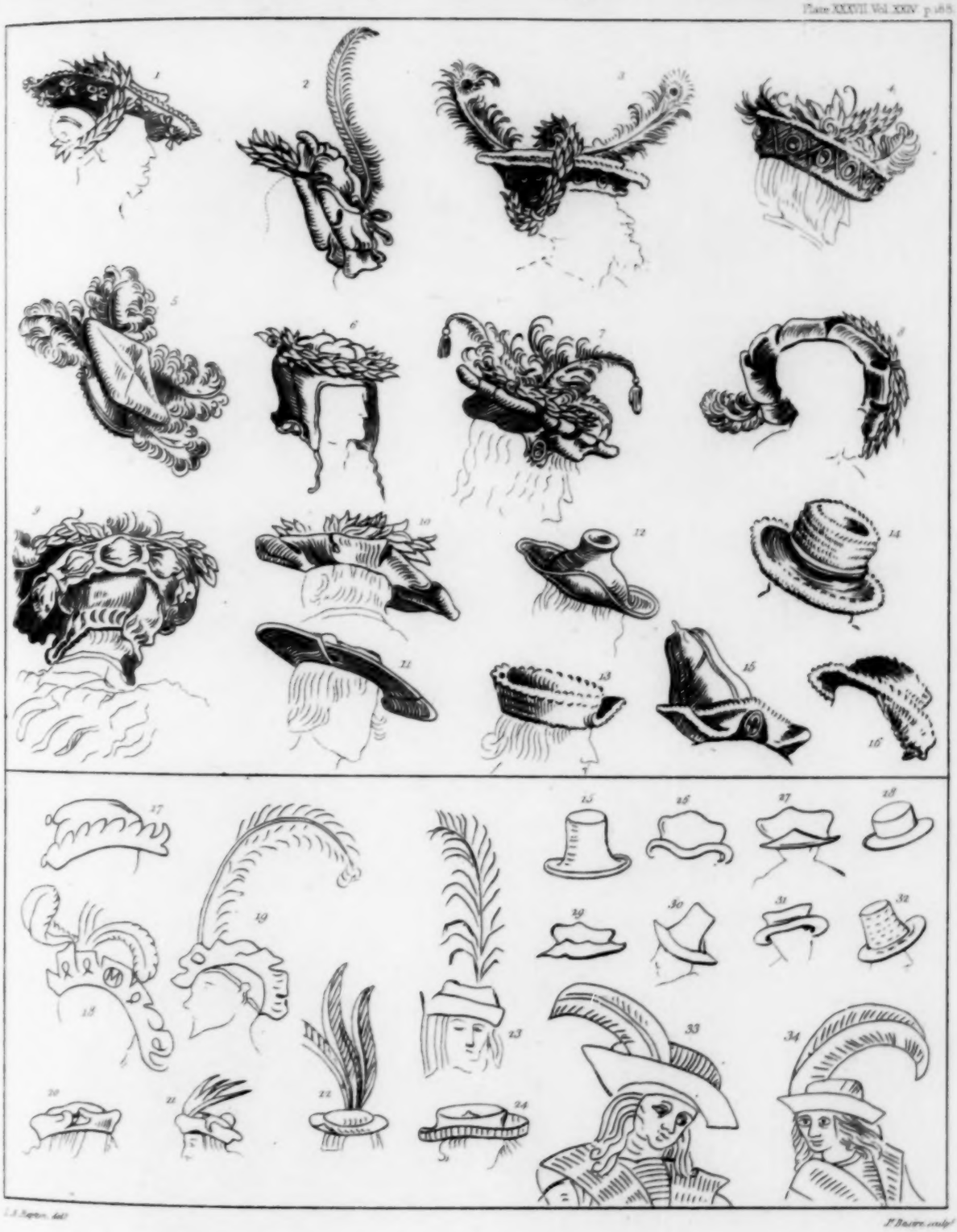
Fig. 1 to 14. from Engravings of Froissarts Chronicle. — Fig. 15 to 19. from the French M.S. on the deposition of Richard II. (see Archaeologia, Vol. XX.)

From the Nuremburg Chronicle. 1493

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 10th 1832.



From some Ancient Tapestry in the possession of John Adey Repton.



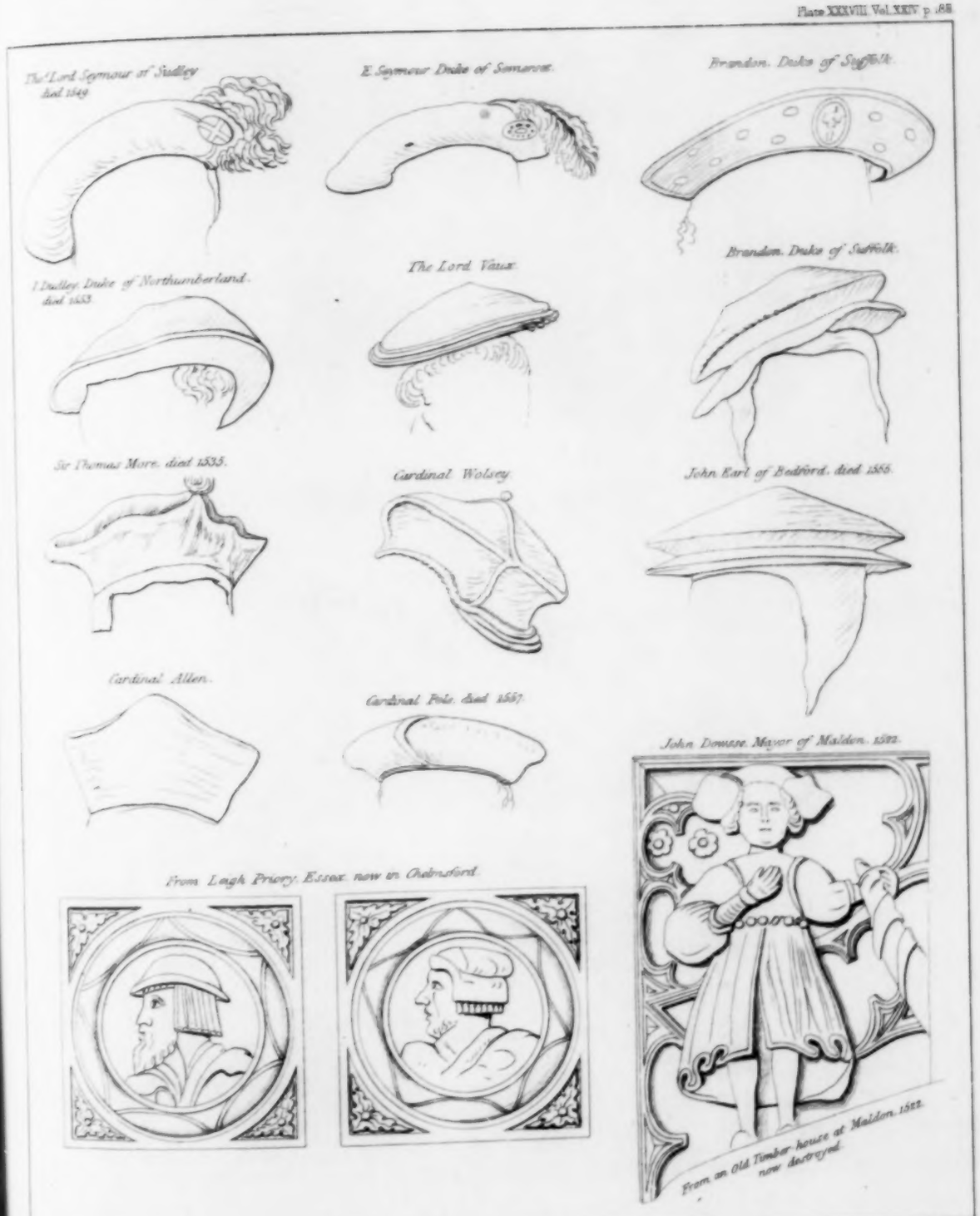
J. S. Raphon del.

F. Basire sculp.

Specimens of Bonnets &c from 1500 to 1550.

Fig. 1. to 26. from the Triumph of Maximilian 1517. (Fig. 11 to 16. prisoners of various nations) 17. 18 & 19. from the suit of armour made for Henry VIII. 20 & 21. the Squyr of Lowe Degre. 22 from the Contemplation of sinners 1499. 23 from Bartholomaus de Prop. Rerum. 24 a Ploughman 1563. Fig. 25 to 32. from a Painting at Goodrey House 1544. Fig. 33 & 34 from the Calendrier des Bergers.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 23rd 1832.



J. S. Repton, del.

J. Basire, sculp.

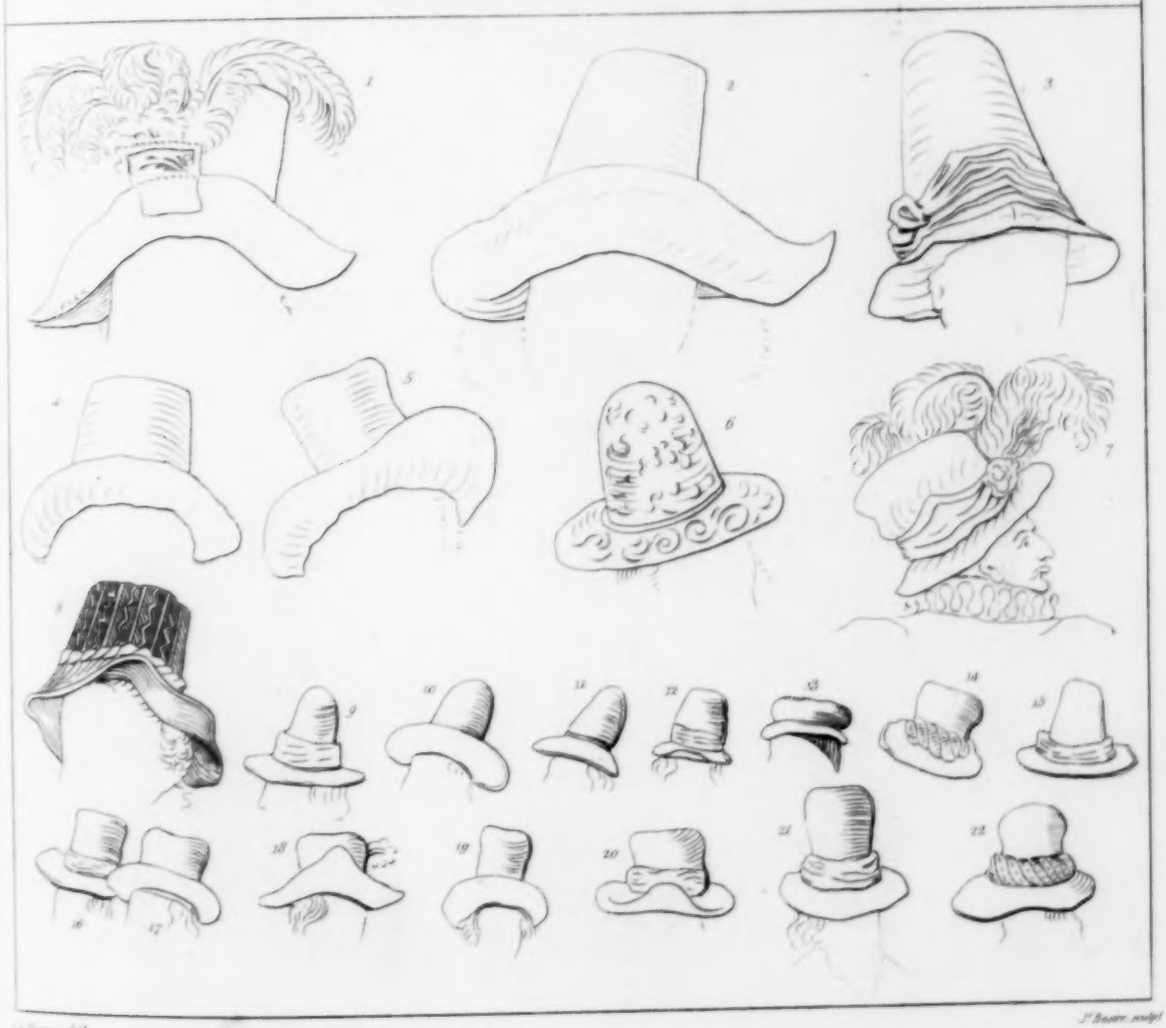
Specimens of Bonnets in the reign of Henry VIII.th

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1831.

From the back of an Old Chair.

Oak Panneds from y Bishop's Palace, Heigham near Norwich.

Specimens of Bonnets in the reign of Henry VIII.



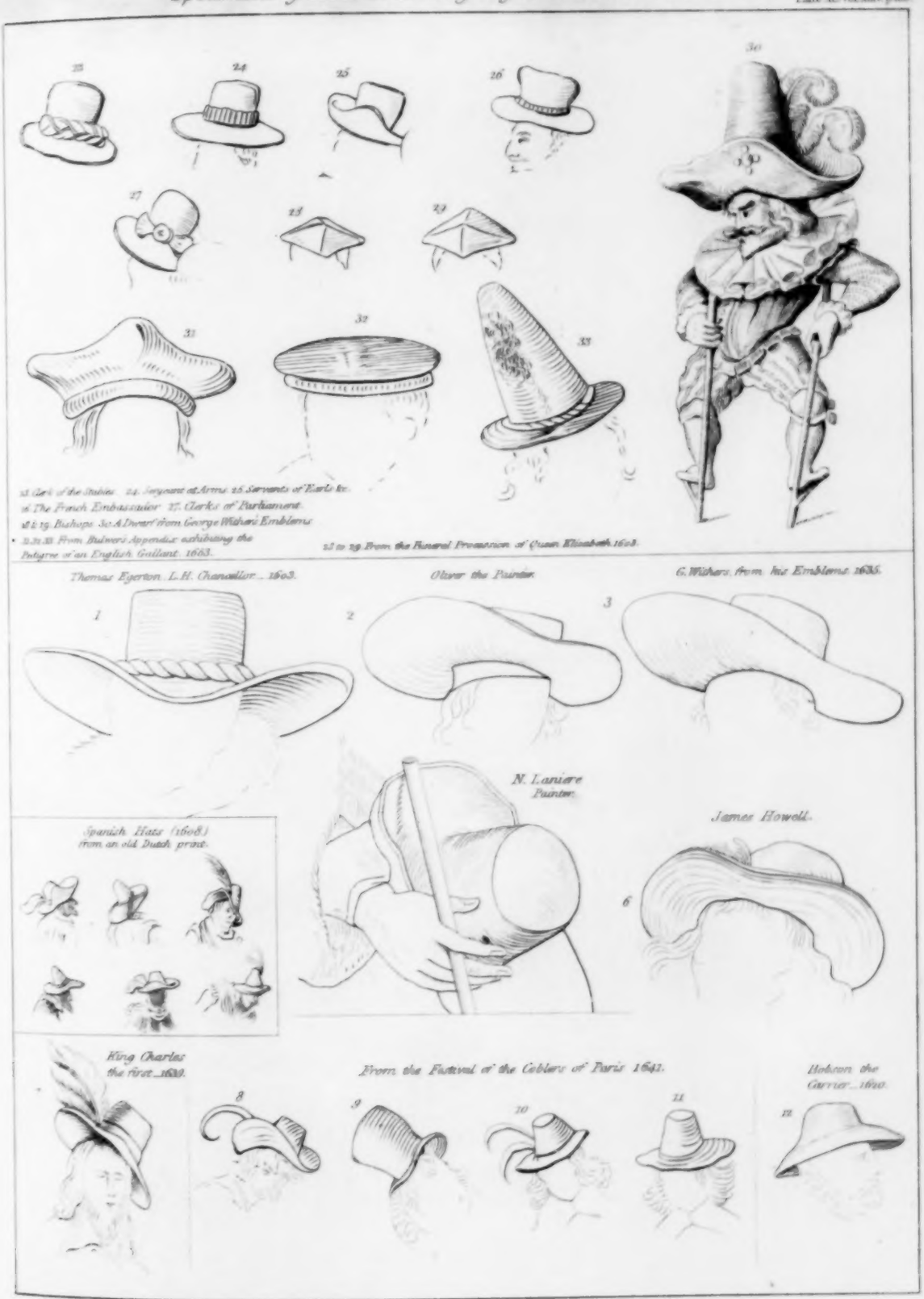
J. Basire sculp.

Specimens of Hats in the reigns of Elizabeth & James I.

1. 6. Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 2. H. Howard, Earl of Northampton, obit 1614. 3. Douglas, Earl of Morton, 1563-1581. 4. Bacon, Kt. S.r Nicholas 1578. 5. Sir Philip Sidney (from Oliver) 6. From the Court of Wards Vol. 1. Fanus Mortum. 7. A Yeoman of the Guard attending Queen Elizabeth in a Progress. 8. The first Earl of Dorset, obit 1608. 9 to 22. From the Funeral Pageantry of Queen Elizabeth, 1603. 9. Bursers of the Prize. 10. Children. 11. The Lordes. 12. 13. Poor Men of Westminster. 14. 15. Aldermen & the Recorder of London. 16 & 17. Lord Chief Baron, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. 18 & 19. Servants. 20. Barons & Earls eldest Sons. 21 & 22. The Guards.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 25th 1832.

Specimens of Hats in the reign of Elizabeth & James I.

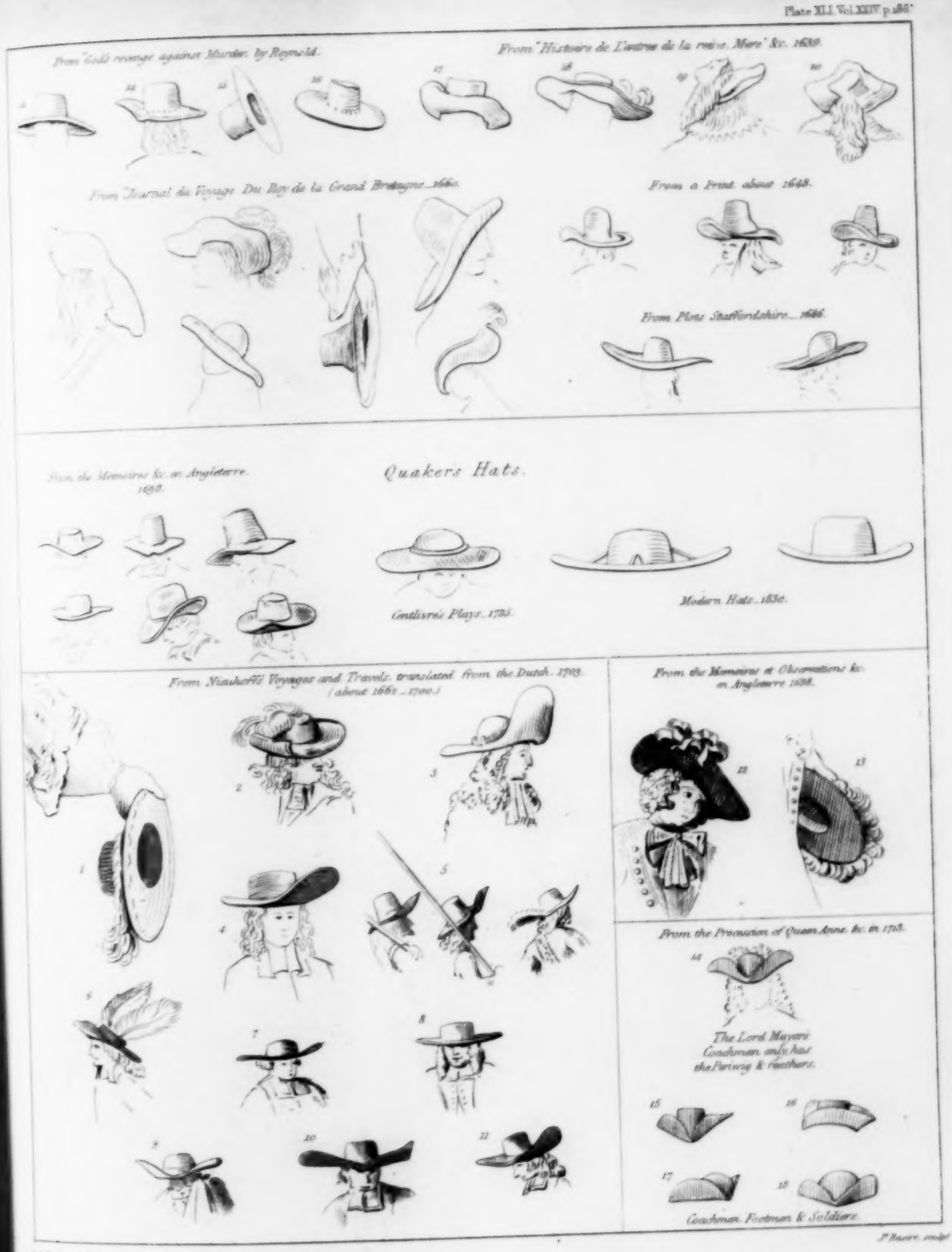


J.A. Repton. del.t

F. Basire sculp.t

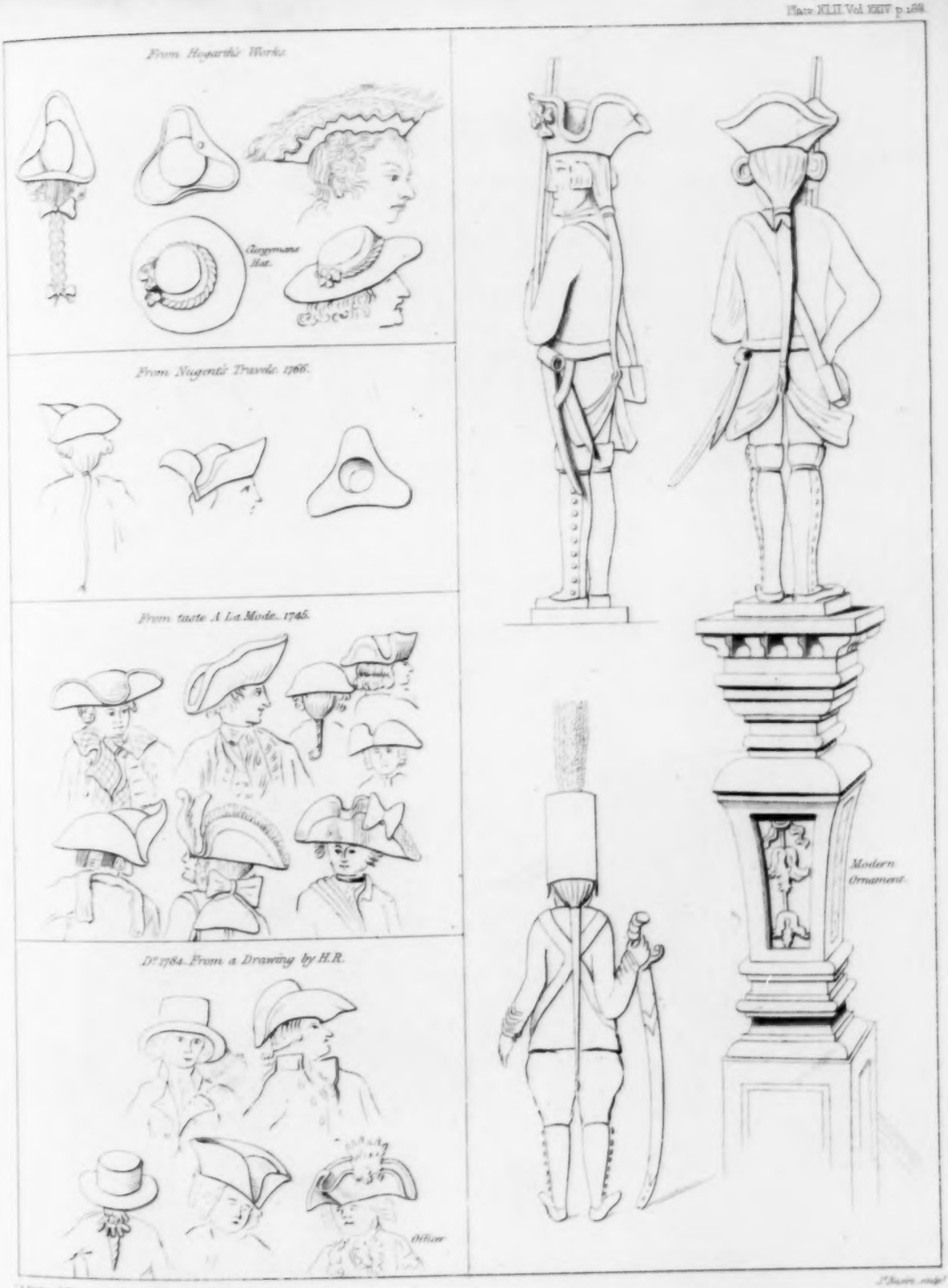
Specimens of Hats from James I. to James II.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 28th 1832.



Specimens of Hats from James I. to James II.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 1st 1832.



J. Hopkins del.

J. Basire sculp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 28th 1832.

In looking at the magnificent staircase at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, of the date of James I. with the rich bannisters and pinacles surmounted with carved figures, dressed in costume of that period, a correct antiquary will be startled to find a modern figure of a Soldier with spatterdashes, a tremendous cocked hat, and a goodly long pigtail.[d] Upon further inquiry, he will find the staircase was much enlarged by the late Earl of Buckinghamshire (between sixty or seventy years ago). But the pinnacles under the figures are copied from the old ones.

To continue the subject of Hats from the reign of Queen Anne to the present time would require a volume, I must therefore now conclude this Paper, with the expression of my hope that I have not already too much occupied the time of those Members who have favoured me with their attention.

[d] Concerning pigtails and their antiquity, I suspect they are of a much later period than the reign of James the First or Charles the First. This absurd fashion continued till as late as the beginning of the present century, when by the good sense of the age they were nearly exploded.

In Plate XLII. is a sketch of a young Dragoon as he appeared about twenty-five years ago.

VI. *An Account of various Roman Antiquities discovered on the site of the Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, and in Eastcheap, in forming the northern Approaches of the new London Bridge; communicated by* Alfred John Kempe, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 16th June, 1831.

Rodney Buildings, New Kent Road,
June 13, 1831.

Dear Sir,

In forming the northern or City entrance on the new London Bridge, it was thought expedient to construct a Sewer of very large dimensions under the line of approach; for this purpose, on the removal of the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane (which stood on an immemorially ancient consecrated site), a transverse section was commenced of the eminence which rises from Thames Street towards the heart of the City. This excavation was made as deep as the low-water mark, about fifty feet below the present surface of the crest of the hill. In the course of the above operation, and of preparing for the construction of the northern land arches of the new bridge, three distinct ancient lines of embankment were discovered. These successive bulwarks, by which ground was gained by degrees from the Thames for the wharfs of the port of London, are not however the object of the present communication. Careful notes of these circumstances, as indeed of all other which relate in a constructive point of view to old London Bridge and the adjoining banks of the river, have been, I know, made by the Gentleman who has already contributed some of them to the Archæologia of the Society, and who will, I trust, be induced in the same way to follow up a subject for which he has acquired such good materials, and in connexion with which he has formed such a curious collection of articles of antiquity, particularly of the Roman era.

I may be allowed just to mention, that one of the lines of embankment, lying twenty feet under the south abutment of the Thames Street land arch of the new bridge, was of a peculiarly massive character, being formed of the trunks of oak trees, roughly squared with the axe, and in all probability the work of the Romans. On the hill, about one hundred yards north of this work, the discoveries which I am about to relate were made.

When the deep trench, to which I have alluded, was cut through the site of St. Michael's church, the ancient foundations which intersected the upper part, afforded testimony of the enlarged church which John Lovekin, the stockfishmonger, erected in 1317,[a] in place of the more ancient one of smaller dimensions, and also of the side chapels which were added by the famed Sir William Walworth, who passed his youth in Lovekin's service.

The original church appeared to me to have stood to the south of Lovekin's building, and two lancet windows of its north wall were revealed during the late operations.[b] When the labourers had penetrated through a factitious accumulation of soil to the depth of about seventeen feet (from fifteen to seventeen feet under the present surface may be, I believe, accounted the level of Roman London) they came to a stratum of argillaceous native earth about two feet and a half in depth, in which numerous marks of Roman occupation began to make their apearance; sinking twenty feet still deeper, through a stratum of fine red gravel, they came to the bed of clay in which are found the fossil remains of ages beyond human record. To the Roman level, however, I purpose to confine these notes.

The first discovery of Roman remains which I personally witnessed, was on the 21st of April last, when the excavation had arrived at the wall with the lancet windows, the southern boundary of St. Michael's church-yard. The singularly formed urn, delineated in the accompanying sketches,[c] was then taken out of the stratum of native loam, and two coins of the Emperor Vespasian, one of which is in tolerable preservation. As the labourers proceeded with their task, they found the native gravel bed and its super-strata intersected by numerous holes and square pits, probably ancient cess-pools or cis-

[a] Stow's Survey, edit. 1613, p. 408.

[b] See them represented in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1831, p. 295.

[c] Plate XLIV. figure 8.

terns; in these, as in the surrounding soil, were many relics of Roman pottery. See the sketches.

As the excavations drew near the line of the street of Eastcheap (about which I indeed expected the Roman relics would be numerous), the fragments of the fine red ware, commonly called Samian, became very plentiful; several mortars of baked whitish clay, of various dimensions,[d] each furnished with a lip, and half an inch in thickness; portions of earthen bottles; handles and bottoms of amphoræ of different forms;[e] and party walls, composed of rag stone, of buildings which had evidently aligned with the present street, were discovered. These walls were covered with wood ashes, and about them were found many portions of green *molten* glass and of the red Samian ware, *discoloured by fire*. On arriving at the street of Eastcheap, the excavation crossed a raised bank of gravel six feet in depth, and eighteen feet wide. The crest of this bank was about five feet under the surface of the modern pavement, and in width and other circumstances it nearly accords with the structure of the Watling Street way as described by Holinshed,[f] into the line of which it must have have fallen at London Stone. On reaching the north-east corner of Eastcheap, the foundations of a Roman building appeared a little in advance of the line of modern houses. Into this wall (which was of ragstone, and two feet thick,) was worked at five feet from its base a double course of Roman wall tiles, chiefly of white clay;[g] a curious flue tile, with four apertures, was

[d] Varying from ten to fourteen inches in diameter.

[e] It might be expected that the Roman Potter's ware found at St. Michael's would be greatly mingled with that of the middle age. I found, however, only one fragment which I could certainly say was such, and this appears to be of the thirteenth century, and is very remarkable. It bears a shield impressed with three chevrons, the Arms of Clare, and appears to have been also covered (perhaps ornamentally, and not heraldically) with fleurs-de-lys. Few earthen vessels of the gothic age are, I believe, known; metal, wood, and leather being a that time extensively employed in those for household purposes. Of the earthenware of the sixteenth century (which may be reckoned the first of the modern era) we discover many relics; particularly vessels decorated with *bearded heads*. One of these, in my possession, a bottle found on the site of the old Boar's-head Tavern, in Eastcheap, has a venerable bearded visage on the neck, and underneath, a shield, bearing on a pale three mascles, below which is the date 1594.

[f] "In the year of grace one thousand five hundred thirty and one the course thereof was found by a man that digged gravel thereof to mend the high way. It was in this place (St. Alban's) eighteen foot broad. The yellow gravell that was brought thither in carts 2000 years passed, remained fresh and strong," &c.—Holinshed's Description of Britaine, p. 112. folio edit.

[g] One of these tiles, in my possession, very much resembles in form an oblong Roman shield

taken from this wall, into which it had been promiscuously built, and two coins of the Emperor Claudius, much corroded; some yards north of the building were two wells neatly steined with squared stone. Here, having reached the line of Gracechurch Street, the excavation, and of course the discoveries, ended.

Some general conclusions relative to the state of London in the Roman times may be drawn from the above remains, which the coins tend to shew were of a very early period of the Roman Empire in Britain; and first, that it contained at this high era of its history a dense population *eastward* of the site of St. Paul's. When, indeed, we consider that Lombard Street, the Bank, Cornhill, Leadenhall Street, and the precinct inclosed by the fortifications of the Tower, have all afforded important Roman Remains, we may hesitate to determine, that the ground immediately about St. Paul's was the nucleus for the rising colony. The Roman burying ground is shewn by a passage in Stow's Survey [h] to have been situated in Spital-fields, the quarter immediately bordering on the east of the Roman settlement; and this, as we may gather from the discoveries made in his time, at as high a period as the reigns of Claudius and Vespasian. The coins which he particularizes, the cups of coralline hue, the stone jugs of white earth, and "the glass so cunningly wrought that he had not seen the like," tally precisely with the relics from the late excavation at St. Michael's. Thus we may fairly conclude that London in the time of the Emperor Claudius, that is in the first century of Christ, had spread itself out (probably as an open town consisting chiefly of insulated buildings pleasantly situated on a rising green bank), from Tower-hill to St. Paul's. When Tacitus incidentally mentions the "*dulcedo loci*," he allows us fairly to presume that it must have deserved that distinction, by being constructed on the banks of a fine river under such circumstances.

In the places where "the merchants most did congregate," as on the site of the modern Eastcheap, the houses were more closely placed, like the shops of our day. The above-mentioned historian adds, that in the time of Nero it was, "copiâ negotiatorum et commeatu maximè celebre;" [i] that it

having an umbo in the centre; see the Sketch. They are very rudely formed, and are probably the work of the Britons when they were beginning to adopt the Roman arts and customs. See on that subject Tacitus in vit. Agricolæ. Edit. Elzvir, p. 731.

[h] Edit. 1613, p. 324.

[i] Annal. lib. xiv. Edit. Elzvir, p. 362.

did not want its wharfs and landing places (inlets in the embankment, since called *gates*,[k]) I think the discoveries of Mr. Knight will, when given in detail, distinctly shew.

When Londinium was abandoned, by the wary Suetonius Paulinus, to the vengeance of Boadicea, it has been considered that its buildings were destroyed in a general conflagration ; testimony of this fact appeared in the discoloured Samian ware, the ashes and the molten green glass of which I have before spoken, under circumstances which clearly distinguish these appearances from the effects of the fire of 1666. In a communication concerning a great number of vestiges of Roman buildings and other Roman antiquities found in Birchin Lane and Lombard Street, in the year 1784, inserted in the eighth volume of the Archæologia, it is stated that at the depth of fifteen feet six inches from the present street, on the surface of the Roman pavements, which were placed on the virgin earth, was invariably found a stratum three inches deep of wood ashes ; couple this with the circumstances I have related at St. Michael's, and what stronger evidence can be produced of the the catastrophe in which the dwellings of the Roman settlers at London were involved in the reign of Nero? The Roman building at the north-east corner of Eastcheap afforded a curious testimony that such a conflagration had taken place, and that London had been afterwards *rebuilt* by the Romans. Worked into the mortar of the walls were numerous pieces of the fine red ware, blackened by the action of an intense fire.

The large earthenware mortars found in such numbers on the south side of Eastcheap, (see the Sketches,) were used, I apprehend, by the primitive colonists of Roman London for the purpose of triturating their corn. I found a specimen of the pestles or *pistilla*, used for this trituration, also of earthen ware ; and that they were so employed we have the authority of the Roman writer on husbandry, Columella, who says, " *Pistillis* frumentum conterito." I am led to infer, from the discovery of these mortars, amphoræ, simpula, &c. that the street of Eastcheap was a Forum Mercatorium of much resort in the Roman times, where might be had corn, wine, and oil in abundance. The mortars seem to indicate the establishment of pistores or bakers on the

k Billingsgate, Dowgate. It is coincidentally remarkable that the entrances in the cliffs to the Isle of Thanet from the sea-ward, are called gates. Westgate, Kingsgate, Margate, Ramsgate, &c.

spot, for we know that they derived the very title of their trade from being accustomed to pound with the hand grain into flour, "Pistor qui in pistrino pinsit farinam;" and so tedious was this operation, that it became the punishment of criminals in the Roman Bridewell:

> "Verberibus cæsum te in *pistrinum*, Dave, dedam usque ad necem,
> Ea lege atque omine, ut, si te inde exemerim ego pro te *molam*,"

is the threat of the old man to the crafty slave in Terence.[1] We could therefore only change this conjecture for another, that here was the Roman prison.

The indications I have recited lead, however, much more strongly to the conclusion, that this was a spot of much general trade. I have omitted to mention that several crucibles, large and small, were found about the place, and that in the building at the north-east corner of Eastcheap, was a sort of last formed of stone, which appeared to have been used for the making of sandals.

A little observation will enable us to conclude, that on or about the site of St. Michael's church there was a Roman temple, on the ruins of which a Christian church arose, as in numerous other instances. In the first place, elevated spots were chosen in preference by the Romans for their sacred buildings.[m] The incontestible evidence of sacrifice appeared on the place in the horns of rams, goats, &c. nor will it do for a doubting antiquary to declare that these were the exuviæ of the butchers' stalls in old English Eastcheap, for upwards of three bushels of these bones were found on the Roman level, and *within* the walls of the ancient church, where they could not have been deposited by the butchers. Moreover, a piece of plain red tessellated pavement, about fourteen feet square, was laid open just under the church in Crooked Lane;[n] and looking about for still further evidence of the existence

[1] Andrian, act i, scen. 2.

[m] Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis
Urbe fuit summâ. Virg. Æn. lib. vii, line 169.

—Vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes,
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ. Ib. lib. v, line 759.

[n] Several pieces of this pavement have been preserved by Simon Johnson, of 41, Joiner Street, St. Olave's, an intelligent labourer employed in the works.

of a temple, the demolition of the old wall with the lancet windows before mentioned, afforded some massy fragments of Roman architecture, being of a sort of sand-stone, the surface of which has been painted with the favourite Roman colour, a bright red, and the pigment has deeply penetrated the porous material.

As to the appropriation of the antique pitchers, cups, and patines which were found about St. Michael's, I do not think that it was altogether sacrificial; although it has been observed, on classical authority, that the Romans much affected the use of earthenware, and that often of the coarsest kind in their sacrifices, in imitation of the primitive sacred institutions of Numa. The fragments which I possess of ornamented fine earthenware, found in the excavation, are chiefly of the red kind. I have one or two of the black, which seems to have been much more rare. The red, however, was the colour in fashion with the Romans: "Ex luto Samio in rubrum colorem vertente," as has also been remarked from Pitiscus.[o]

Some of the vessels have been ornamented with representations of gladiatorial combats, the hunting of the hare, wild beasts, &c.; others are profusely decorated with vine leaves, ivy, or myrtle, disposed in elegant tracery; others bear garlands of vervain or rosemary, woven together with bended twigs or cords, from which are dependent acorns. Garlands were so much used by the ancients at their sacrificial and social feasts, that as the patines for libation, and the sculls of victims, from being at first suspended on the friezes of their temples, became at last sculptured on them in stone, so were these vegetable wreaths at length transferred to the matter of the pateræ themselves in fictile representation.[p]

> "Quis udo
> Deproperare apio coronas
> Curatve myrto,"[q]

says Horace; and in another place,

> "Neu desint epulis rosæ,
> Nec vivax apium nec breve lilium;"[r]

o Archæologia, vol. viii.

p On an altar discovered at Shields is carved a sacrificial vase containing five sprigs of ivy. See Gibson's Camden, p. 783. A piece of Samian ware from St. Michael's has a moulding impressed with a running pattern of the flowers of the lily.

q Od. vii, lib. 2.

r Od. xxxvi, lib. 1.

and,

> "Te nihil attinet
> Tentare multa cæde bidentium
> Parvos coronantem marino
> Rore deos fragilique myrto." [s]

The red or Samian ware was commonly used, I suspect, by the better order of Romans in their feasts. The small beautiful glossy cups and dishes might be for uses very similar to our plates, salt-cellars, glasses, &c. From Horace [t] we see that the Roman tables were furnished with a variety of vessels:

> "Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet adstat echinus
> Vilis, cum patera guttus Campana supellex."

Indeed the elder Pliny distinctly says that the Samian ware was held in esteem by the Romans for the uses of the table, "Samia in esculis laudantur." [u] It was probably imported into Britain; for, when enumerating several potteries in Italy, Spain, and Greece, he says that their wares "per maria terrasque ultrò citrò portantur." [x]

It is not a little remarkable that a great number of the Potters' names and marks impressed on the Samian ware from St. Michael's, correspond with those described in the fifth volume of the Archæologia, as found on the *Pan Rock* off Margate, which the writer of that communication supposes to have been the Kaunos of Ptolemy; on this spot he conceives a Roman pottery was established, which, with the island itself, has disappeared in the sea. The wreck of a vessel on the spot, bringing a cargo of this ware into Britain, appears to me a more likely conjecture. The stamps agree also with those alluded to by Battely, in his Antiquitates Rutupinæ, and by Mr. Forster and Mr. Jackson, as found in Lombard Street and Birchin Lane in 1784. [y]

The potter's name is usually in the genitive case, preceded by the letters OF. or followed by the letter M. the first I should render officinâ, for *ex officinâ*, the second *manu*.

There are not, however, wanting examples of potters' names in the nominative case; one stamp in my possession has the words "Felix fecit" almost

[s] Od. xxiii, lib. 3. [t] Sat. vii. [u] Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv, cap. 46. [x] Ibid.
[y] See their communications to Mr. Gough and Dr. Combe in Archæol. vol. viii. pp. 116, 127.

at length, and another " Vitalis M. S. F.," which I suggest is " Vitalis manu suâ fecit," or something to that import.

In concluding this Paper, I beg to remark how much information would be thrown upon the extent and topography of Roman London, if the excavations, which from time to time are made in the City for public works, were carefully observed.

I attended the progress of the excavation at St. Michael's (with a view to form the notes which I now offer to the Society) from the 21st of April to the 21st of May, with little interruption, and scarcely a day passed but I found my object in some way gratified. The advice of Battely to any one in pursuit of such evidence is excellent: " Si cui, inquam, in animo est vetustatis reliquias quærere, tumulos perfodito, castra, valla, et loca iis vicina perscrutator, vias publicas indagato, &c. &c. hæ rerum antiquarum studiosis leges sunto."[z]

To ascertain the site and direction of ancient foundations of buildings is, in an antiquarian point of view, very important. Thus, in the operations for forming the Southwark approach of the new Bridge, was found in the middle of the Borough High Street, a Roman pavement of coarse tesseræ, a plain proof that *that* could not have been the line of road to the Roman trajectus over the Thames; while, in making some alterations last month in the pavement of the choir of St. Saviour's church, stone foundations were discovered, crossing the church from north-east to south-west, and there is known to be a narrow line of tesselated pavement in the church-yard, perhaps the floor of the crypto-porticus of a Roman house, running in the same direction. Let a line be drawn from Kent Street, a portion of the old Roman way from Dover to London, across the Borough, and it will be seen that the buildings in the Roman suburb in Southwark, in conformity with the road, must have taken a north-westerly direction, nay, the very point of the Roman trajectus may by this method be nearly ascertained. I will not, however, by entering on fresh matter protract a communication which, I fear, I may already have made too long.

I remain, dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

ALFRED JOHN KEMPE.

To Henry Ellis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

[z] Antiq. Rutup. p. 133.

Articles found at the Excavation about the Church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, represented in the Plates.

PLATE XLIII.

Fragments of the fine red pottery, commonly denominated Samian.

PLATE XLIV.

1. Amphora. The practice of the ancients of plunging their wine vessels in the ground, the better to preserve an equal temperature for their contents, will account for the two handles and the pointed form of the Amphoræ.[a] Roman vessels are frequently found coated on the inside with pitch. This practice would impart a peculiar flavour to their wines. We read of the Vinum *picatum*.

2. Mortarium, of baked white clay. Small gravel pebbles are mixed with the clay in several of these mortars, with a view to facilitate trituration.

3. Section of the Mortar. 4. Pistillum, also of baked clay.

5. Potter's stamp on the edge of a fragment of one of these mortars. See another specimen in the list of potter's stamps.

6. Vessel of a reddish brown baked clay, having an imperfect yellow glaze. This vessel is embossed with a studded or nail-headed ornament. A similar pattern was on some Roman vessels found at Long Crendon, in Buckinghamshire. See Dr. Lipscomb's History of Buckinghamshire, part i.; and the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. CI. part i. p. 580.

7. Vessel of light-coloured baked clay, unglazed, probably a liquid measure, as several of the same form, of various heights and diameters, were found. Height of the largest in my possession, 7¾ inches; diameter, 3¾ inches, at the top and bottom: height of the smallest, 4¾ inches; diameter 2⅞ inches.

8. Sepulchral urn, of baked clay, black. With this urn were found two shallow circular earthenware pans, containing ashes and two coins of Vespasian. It may be observed, that the discovery of sepulchral relics on the site of Roman London strongly militates against the opinion of those antiquaries who are for laying out the area of the city, at an early period of its history, into a regular Roman Camp, with its prætorium, its portæ princi-

[a] See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xiv, cap. 27.

pales, &c. Had it been a military station, it would not have been abandoned to the rage of the insurgent Britons by Suetonius in the reign of Nero.

9. Section, shewing the form of the lower part of this urn.

10. Vessel of earthenware; the interior red and unglazed; the exterior covered with a greenish yellow glaze. A sacrificial ewer, of a very similar form, is carved on the side of a Roman altar, depicted in Camden's Britannia, p. 783. Additions by Gibson.

11. Another earthenware vessel. The exterior is glazed, the studs and flutings are a deep crimson red, the intervening oblong compartments greenish yellow.

12. Vessel of black ware; the exterior curiously ornamented with wavy and zig-zag lines, and rings of a cord-like pattern,—all characteristic marks of Roman workmanship. This vessel has probably been sepulchral; the interior is coated with a white substance. The bottom somewhat spherical. I have a vessel of very similar form in my possession, found at the sepulchres at Warbank, Holwood Hill. See it engraved in Gent. Mag. xcix. i. p. 401.

13. Cruet of baked clay. Probably deposited in a sepulchre.

14, 15. Portions of Roman vessels. The banded ornaments on these fragments are very characteristic of Roman manufacture in glass and earthenware.

16. Bottom of an amphora, channelled into a spiral form.

17. Handle of a vase. 18. Foot of an alabaster vase.

19. Probably one of two handles of an earthenware vase; dark olive green glaze. 20. Bottom of an amphora.

PLATE XLV.

1. Glass. George Gwilt, Esq. F.S.A. has several similar Roman vessels in his museum. He says that bottles of the same form are used in the ceremonies of the Romish Church in Italy at this day.

2. Cup of the fine red or Samian ware.

3. Fine light brown ware unglazed. 4. Red or Samian ware.

5. Large beads of baked clay, flat on one side, and spherical on the other. Perhaps strung in combination, as shewn.

6. Other beads or amulets of an opaque greenish substance.

7. Cup of the Samian ware. 8. Beads of green glass.

9. Ram's skull, from the Roman level.

10. Glass. Probably one of the vessels called simpula, so termed "à sumendo, quòd eis vinum sumpserunt minutatim." See Lyttelton, in voce *Simpulum.* The surface of most of the Roman glass is decomposed into a beautiful silvery and opal-like appearance. The tube of the spout is almost capillary.

11. Wall tile from the building at the north-east corner of Eastcheap.

12. Flue tile from the same, scored with the trellis pattern much used by the Romans.

13. Fragment of scored tile. 14. Cruet of whitish baked clay.

15. Fragment of a vessel of the red Samian ware.

16. Patera of the Samian ware. 17. Cup of the same.

18. Instrument of bone, perhaps a style for scoring pottery, ornamented with the trellis lines. 19. Small lamp of dark terra-cotta.

20. A crucible, or perhaps a measure; earthenware.

21. A very small green glass bottle, probably lachrymal.

22. A lunula of brass, strongly gilt.

23. Fragment of a bottle of green glass.

24, 25. Fragments of an earthen vessel, externally glazed green.

26. The vessel restored by the authority of the preceding fragments.

Potters' Marks on the Roman Ware discovered at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, A. D. 1831.

OF·L·COS·VIRIL	Ex Officinâ L. Cossi Virilis.
OF L. C. VIRIL	Mark of the same potter slightly varied. This mark has since been also found by Mr Gage in the barrows at the Bartlow Hills.
VIRIL	Of the same potter. The pellets at the end of the label are remarkable; The same dots, after the name of the same potter, were found at Long Crendon, Bucks. See Gent. Mag. vol. CI. i. 580.
OF MOI	Ex Officinâ M. O. I. This mark occurs on the pottery from Lombard Street. See Archæologia, vol. VIII. p. 126.
OFIRMONS	Ex Officinâ Firmonis.
OF NIGR	Ex officinâ Nigri or Nigrini. The latter mark occurs on the pottery found in Lombard Street. See Archæologia, vol. VIII. p. 131.
OF. PRIM.	The mark "*Primitivi*" occurs on pottery found at Reculver in Kent.

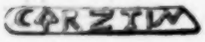
Battely says, Primitivus was a celebrated potter, for which he quotes Petavius, &c. See Antiquitat. Rutup. p. 105.

ALBANI — Albani. This mark occurred also on the Lombard Street pottery.

OFCALVI — Ex Officinâ Calvi.

FELIX. S . FEC — Felix. S. Fecit.

FELIC... — Felicis. The inscriptions from Lombard Street, Archæologia, vol. VIII. p. 126, give us F. ELCIO, which I think is Felicis officinâ blundered.



The same mark was found on pottery at the Pan Rock off Margate. See Archæologia, vol. V. p. 290.

SECVNDI — Secundi Manu, or Ex Officinâ Secundi. This name occurs on the pottery found in Lombard Street. See Archæologia, vol. VIII.

OFS.... — Ex Officinâ S.

OF....RI — O. Severi occurs among the Lombard Street marks.

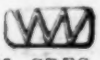
Vitalis Manu Suâ Fecit. This mark also was recently found at the Bartlow Hills, by Mr. Gage. The first letters occur in the Lombard Street stamps.

RVFFI . M — Ruffi Manu.

Medeti Manu. This mark occurred on the pottery found in Lombard Street. See Archæologia, vol. VIII. p. 131, where it is erroneously suggested to be *Pompeii*. Monogram letters similar to the M. E. in this stamp, are common in Roman inscriptions. See examples in Gibson's Camden, p. 851.

DEM... R.. M — Demetrii Manu.

MVXIVIII . M — Perhaps an arbitrary mark.



An arbitrary mark.

M. CRES.. — M. Crescentis. OF. CRES. in the Lombard Street pottery.

OSIRAUNAI — Januarios for Januarius, the letters being reversed, and the two last transposed. See the fragment of Samian ware bearing this inscription drawn by Mrs. Bray, Plate XLIII.

MARTINI — for Ex Officinâ Martini. This stamp is in the possession of Mr. Knight.

OF. PAZZENI — Ex Officinâ Pazzeni. O. PASE.. (qy. Passeni?) occurs in the pottery from Lombard Street.

AQUIINUS — Aquitanus. It has been read Aquilanus; but the fifth character, of which only the upright stroke is perfectly impressed, is not an L.

OF. MVRRM — Ex Officinâ Murrani. The first two limbs of the monogram character here expressed by M are crossed and form an A. The same mark occurs in the Lombard Street pottery.

Matucenus. This stamp is on the edge of one of the Mortaria. For the communication of the four last I am obliged to Mr. W. Taylor, Author of the History and Antiquities of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

Drawn by J. Day & Miss Gropus

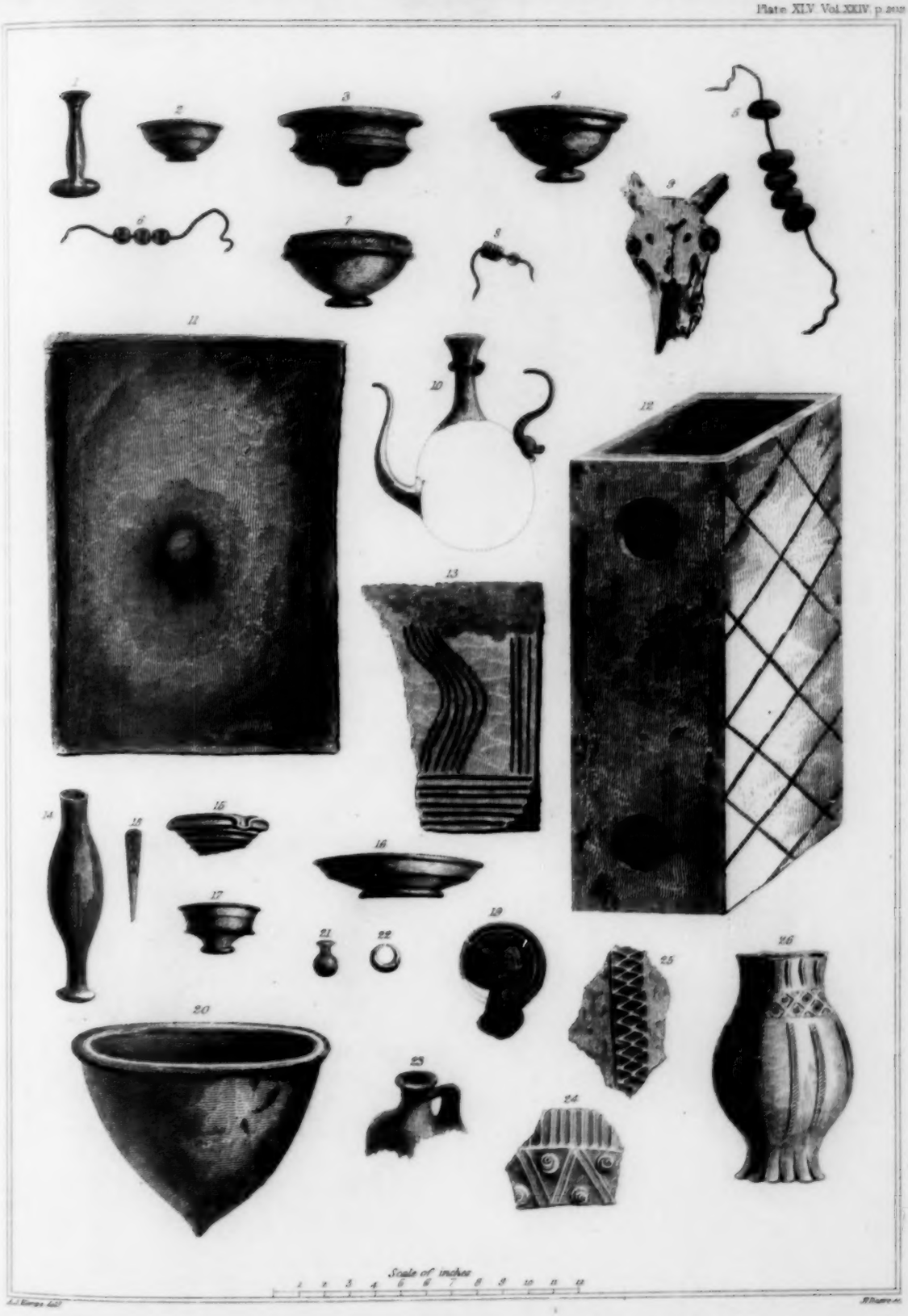
Engraved by J. Basire

Roman Remains from St. Michael's Crooked Lane. 1831.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832

Roman Remains from St. Michael's, Crooked Lane. 1830.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, at Pall Mall.



Roman Remains from St. Michael's, Crooked Lane. 1831.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1832.

VII. *Historical Remarks on the introduction of the game of Chess into Europe, and on the ancient Chess-men discovered in the Isle of Lewis; by* FREDERIC MADDEN, *Esq. F.R.S. in a Letter addressed to* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 16th February, 1832.

British Museum, Jan. 28, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE origin of the Game of CHESS, like the origin of Romance, has been the subject of frequent discussion, and for a long period seemed to be enveloped in nearly equal obscurity. But, in tracing the former, we possess one considerable advantage over those who have discussed the source of fiction in the middle ages—the acknowledged fact, that the game of Chess could not have been produced by more minds than one, although it may subsequently have been modified, improved, or altered, according to the genius and habits of the people by whom it was adopted. It is sufficient, therefore, at present to assume, on the authorities produced by the learned Dr. Hyde and Sir William Jones, that for the invention and earliest form of this game we must look to India,[a] from whence, through the medium of the

[a] The attempt of Christie to re-assert the claims of the Greeks, in his Essay on the ancient Game attributed to Palamedes, 4to, Lond. 1801, however ingenious it may be thought, offers no sort of proof, and is contradicted by all historical evidence.—It is, however, possible, that the ancient Egyptians may also have possessed a knowledge of chess; for among the plates of Hieroglyphics published by Dr. Burton, No. 1, we find at Medinet Habou two representations of some tabular game, closely resembling it; and I am informed that a more perfect representation exists on the temples at Thebes. Perhaps the forthcoming work of M. Champollion and his coadju-

Persians and Arabs (as demonstratively proved by the names of the chess-men), it was afterwards transmitted to the nations of Europe.

Among the numerous writers who have treated of this game,[b] it is to be regretted so few should have directed their attention to its history; and more particularly to the epoch of its introduction into the western world, and the state of the game as then played by Europeans. Instead of this, we are presented, in general, with vague surmises and unconnected quotations, which, although curious in themselves, do not enable us to form any very distinct notions on the subject. One opinion however is adopted, I believe, by all; namely, that the game was imported from the East by the crusaders, and by their means circulated throughout Europe—an hypothesis which, if true, would necessarily exclude all knowledge of it previous to the year 1100.

Yet this opinion, plausible as it may at first seem, labours under many difficulties; and on a more careful examination will, I think, appear to have been received too hastily. I do not here insist on the claims of the Irish chroniclers to belief, when they relate that Cahir Mor, who died A.D. 177, among other legacies, left several chess-boards *(fichell)* and men *(muintir)* to his son;[c] nor to the more positive testimony of the Welsh laws of Howel Dha (about A.D. 943) which speak of some species of game played with

tors may throw light on this inquiry, as well as on the query which necessarily follows, viz. whether the Egyptians received the game from the Hindoos, or the reverse.

[b] The only treatises worth mentioning, in which the game is considered historically, are those of M. Sarasin, among his works, 4to. Par. 1656, pp. 259-277; of Dr. Hyde, *De Ludis Orientalibus*, 12mo Oxon. 1694; of M. Freret, in tom. v. of the *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, pp. 250-264, 4to, 1729; of the Hon. Daines Barrington, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. pp. 16-38; of Francis Douce, Esq. in the same work, vol. xi. pp. 397-410; of M. L. Dubois, in tom. i. of the *Magasin Encyclopédique*, pp. 48-62, 1806 (almost wholly pillaged from Freret); and in four Papers by the late Lake Allen, Esq. (assisted by the writer of the present communication) inserted in the *New Monthly Magazine* for 1822, vol. iv. pp. 316-320, 497-502; vol. v. pp. 125-130, 315-320. —See also Singer's Researches into the History of Playing Cards, 4to, 1816; and, *instar omnium*, Twiss's Collections on the Game, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1787, 1789, with the additions in his "Miscellanies," 8vo, Lond. 1805. The most copious list of writers on this subject will be found at the end of *Ben-oni, oder die Vertheidigungen gegen die Gambitzüge im Schache, &c. von A. Reinganum*, 8vo. Frankf. am. M. 1825.

[c] See Hyde's Hist. Shahiludii, *Prolegom.* and pp. 28, 52; and Twiss, vol. ii. pp. 261-264.

black and white men *(werin)* on a table-board *(tawlbwrdd.)*[d] In both instances I shall consider the fact *not proven*; since it cannot be reconciled with the statements of oriental writers, nor with the chronology of the game. Besides these objections, the meaning of the terms employed is by no means certain, and may, with far greater probability, be referred to the game of tables or draughts, than to chess. Other evidence, however, exists, which would seem to warrant an inference contrary to that which ascribes the knowledge of chess in Europe to the period of the crusades. At what time this game passed from the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, has not yet been ascertained. Hyde, Du Cange, and others, have quoted a passage from the Alexiad of Anna Comnena, in which the Emperor is said to have been accustomed to rise in the night, and play at chess (τὸ ζατρίκιον) with his favourites. The fair historian expressly adds, that the game was derived by the Greeks from the Assyrians, or Arabs of Syria. Now, Alexius reigned from A.D. 1080 to A.D. 1118; and this has been considered the earliest notice of the game after it arrived at Constantinople.

But if we may depend on the fidelity of an oriental historian,[e] we ought to ascribe its appearance in the east of Europe full three centuries anterior. In an epistle from the Emperor Nicephorus to the Caliph Haroun al Rashid, written soon after the accession of the former in A.D. 802, he makes a pointed allusion to the game of chess. "The Queen," said he, speaking of Irene, the mother of Constantine, "to whom I have succeeded, considered you as a *Rook* رخ and herself as a *Pawn* بيدق. That pusillanimous female submitted therefore to pay to thee a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from thyself." What were the original terms employed in speaking of the Rook and Pawn, we have no means of knowing, since the passage exists only in the words of the Arabic writer. But the familiar manner in which such a metaphor is used, sufficiently proves the game to have been some time previously introduced amongst the Greeks, and long enough to be generally understood.

[d] Wotton's Leges Wallicæ, l. 3, c. vii. pp. 266-7, fol. Lond. 1730. The board was made of ivory, bone, or horn, and the game was played with *eight* men only on each side.

[e] Abulfedæ Annales, tom. ii. p. 85, 4to. Hafn. 1790.

Assuming this as a fact (and I do not see how it can be questioned), we may naturally infer that its progress would not be long confined to the shores of the Propontis, but speedily be transported to the most northern extremity of Europe. This would be rendered easy by the communication maintained between the courts of Constantinople and France, and by the frequent intercourse kept up through the medium of the adventurers of Italy and Scandinavia, who were allured to the eastern metropolis by the advantages of commerce, the prospect of military service, or by the more humble and sanctified object of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Under such circumstances it requires no very great exertion of our credulity to receive the story quoted by the Duke of Lunenburg from an old German Chronicle in the library of Mark Velser, in which the son of Otkar, a Bavarian prince, named Roch, is said to have been killed by a son of King Pepin, on account of the former having conquered repeatedly at Chess.[f] The same story, which must be referred, at latest, to the middle of the eighth century, is repeated by Metellus of Tegernsee, a monastery in Upper Bavaria, near the lake of Zurich, who in his poem intitled *Quirinalia*, or the acts of Saint Quirin, composed in the year 1160, writes as follows:

" Huic ludo Tabulæ Regis erat filius obvius,
Donec doctior hic obtinuit promptius aleam,
Rixam victus agit, corde patris fortè potentius,
Et Rocho jaculans, mortiferè vulnus adegerat.[g]

[f] " Et dum filii dictorum Principum in *Scaco* luderent, filius Okarii semper Pipini filium vicit. Pipini tamen filius de potentiâ patris præsumens, filium Ducis per tempora percutiens interfecit." *Das Schach-oder König-Spiel, Gustavi Seleni*, fol. Lips. 1617, p. 14.

This story is repeated in the Fragment of a Chronicle, published by Canisius, *Thes. Monument.* Tom. iv., in which it is referred to the year 746; and in the Chronicle of Andreas Presbyter, printed by Marq. Freher, p. 17.

[g] Canisii Thesaur. Monument. tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 134. ed. Basnage, fol. Acta Benedict. Sæc. 3. pt. 1, p. 603. This circumstance furnished, in all probability, the prototype of an incident commonly introduced in the old Romances, and thence into Historians. In the Romance of *Ogier le Danois*, Charlot, son of Charlemagne, cleaves the head of Baudoin, natural son of Ogier, with a chess-board of gold. (See an illumination representing this, in MS. Reg. 15 E. vi. f. 82.) So, likewise, Thibaut breaks the head of his nephew Galyen *(Roman de Galyen Rethore)*; Reynaud kills Berthelot, the nephew of Charlemagne *(Roman des Quatre Filz Aymon*, and *Roman de Reynaud de*

The above anecdote is rendered more credible by an incidental passage in the account of the translation of the body of St. Stremon, Bishop of Arverne, in the fourteenth year of King Pepin, A. D. 764, to the monastery of Maussac, where, says the anonymous writer, " in token of his reverence for the blessed Martyr, the King bestowed many precious gifts, such as a set of chrystalline chess-men, various gems, and a large sum of gold." [h]

But the strongest proof that the game of chess was introduced into France during the period of the Carlovingian dynasty, is to be found in the ivory chess-men still preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities, in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, which have been hitherto regarded too lightly. This has arisen from two causes, the first from their never having been seen by any English writer except Twiss; and secondly, from the strange mistake of Dr. Hyde, who represented the Pawns as bearing muskets (sclopetos) on their shoulders, and consequently of very modern workmanship. These pieces were formerly deposited in the treasury of the abbey of St. Denis, and in a History of the Abbey, published in 1625, are thus noticed: " L'Empereur et Roy de France, sainct Charlemagne, a donné au Thresor de Sainct Denys un jeu d'eschets, avec le tablier, le tout d'yvoire; iceux eschets hauts d'une paulme, fort estimez: le dit tablier et une partie des eschets ont esté perdus

Montauban); Fabour lays dead at his feet the son of the Soldan of Persia (*Romance of Guy of Warwick*); and Bevis of Hampton narrowly escapes having his scull fractured. In the French Chronicles we read, that Henry the First, when prince, played with the Dauphin of France, and knocked the chess-board about his head; a story which is copied by Daniel, Carte, Hayward, and Burton, but falsely referred by the latter to William the Conqueror. See Twiss, vol. ii. pp. 45, 139, 140. In the old Gestes of the Warins, cited by Leland, Collectan. i. 230, a similar story is told of Prince John, son of Henry II. and Fulk Fitz-Warin. The ancient chess-boards were very massive, and often made of the precious metals or stones. See New Mon. Mag. vol. v. p. 125, 1822. The colours of the squares were either black and white, red and white, or yellow and white. (See MS. Cott. Cleop. B. ix.) With regard to the size, that on which Charlemagne's pieces stood must have been prodigious; and it would require one above two feet square to play with the chess-men which form the subject of the present Paper.

h " Ubi pro reverentiâ beati Martyris, plurima reliquit [Pippinus Rex] insignia, scilicet *saccho* (l. *schachos*) crystallinos, et lapides pretiosos, et auri plurimum." *Acta Benedict. Sæc.* 3. pt. 2, p. 192.

par succession de temps, et est bien vray semblable qu'ils ont esté apportez de l'Orient, et sous les gros eschets il y a des caractères Arabesques."[i]

Dr. Hyde quotes a somewhat similar passage from another writer (Millet), and gives us the Arabic inscription engraved on the larger pieces as follows: من عمل يوسف النقلي. *Ex opere Josephi Nicolai*; arguing from the name, that the artist was an European.[k] But with all respect to Hyde's oriental learning, it is evident we ought to translate the words (as in Menage), *Ex opere Josephi al-Nakali*, *i. e.* the work of Joseph, native of Nakali, probably a city of Asia Minor, now called by the Turks, *Aineh-ghiol.*[l] The pieces, as described by the same author, represent a King, Queen, Archer, Centaur, Elephant, and Pawn. Mr. Twiss, who actually saw these chess-men at St. Denis, previous to the year 1787, says that at that time only fifteen pieces and one pawn remained, all of ivory, yellowed by time. He gives, nevertheless, a very unsatisfactory account of them, but states the King to be about twelve inches high and eight broad, very clumsily carved, and the Pawn about three inches high, representing a dwarf bearing a large shield. A private engraving of the Pawn was circulated by Twiss, which completely disproves the assertion of Hyde with regard to the muskets. But we are fortunately enabled to form a more accurate judgment of the antiquity and form of these singular pieces from the figures of the King and Queen engraved in Willemin's splendid work.[m] They are each represented sitting on a throne, within an arched canopy, of a semi-circular shape, supported by columns, and on either side of the King two male, of the Queen two female personages, are seen in the act of drawing aside a curtain. The King holds a sceptre in his hand, and the Queen an oval ornament, probably intended for the mound. The dresses and ornaments are all strictly in keeping with

[i] Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denis, par Jacques Doublet, Religieux de la dite Abbaye, 4to. Par. 1625.

[k] Hist. Shahilud, pp. 72, 132. [l] V. D'Herbelot, and Baudrand.

[m] *Monumens Français Inedits*, fol. Par. 1806—1832. This work is not yet complete, and the text describing the above plate is unfortunately wanting. There is no copy in the Museum, and I am indebted for the sight of one to Thomas Willement, Esq. I have made some attempts to procure drawings and measurements of all these chess-men, but whether I shall succeed or not, time will show.

the Greek *costume* of the ninth century; and it is impossible not to be convinced, from the general character of the figures, that these chess-men really belong to the period assigned them by tradition, and were, in all probability, executed at Constantinople, by an Asiatic Greek, and sent as a present to Charlemagne, either by the Empress Irene, or by her successor Nicephorus. With both these sovereigns (in imitation of his predecessor Pepin's policy), the Frankish monarch had maintained a friendly intercourse by means of embassies, and nothing could have been better calculated to excite the interest of the royal barbarian, than the materials of a game which had recently been brought to the knowledge of western Europe. One thing is certain, that these chess-men, from their size and workmanship must have been designed for no ignoble personage, and from the decided style of Greek art visible in the figures, it is a more natural inference to suppose them presented to Charlemagne by a sovereign of the Lower Empire, than that they came to him as an offering from the Moorish princes of Spain, or even from the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid, whose costly gifts to the Emperor of the West are detailed so minutely by the German historians. The value also attached to them at that period, is testified by their having been placed, together with the most costly ornaments of the state, in the abbey of St. Denis, where they were preserved till the time of the revolution. It is possible also, that this transaction may have given rise to the passage above quoted, of a similar donation by King Pepin to the monastery of Maussac.

Admitting the above hypothesis to be correct, we shall cease to wonder at the perpetual references in the ancient French romances to the game of chess in the time of Charlemagne. This is remarkably the case in the Romance of Guerin de Montglave, which turns wholly upon a game of chess, at which Charlemagne had lost his kingdom to Guerin. The short dialogue which preceded this game, on which so great a stake depended, as narrated by the hero of the story to his sons, is characteristic, and has been thus modernised by the Comte De Tressan. "'I bet,' said the Emperor to me, 'that you would not play your expectations against me on this chess-board, unless I were to propose some very high stake.' 'Done,' replied I; 'I will play them, provided only you bet against me your kingdom of France.' 'Very good, let us see,' cried Charlemagne, who fancied himself to be strong

at chess. We play forthwith—I win his kingdom—he falls a-laughing at it; but I swear by St. Martin, and all the Saints of Aquitain, that he must needs pay me by some sort of composition or other."[n] The Emperor, therefore, by way of equivalent, surrenders to Guerin all his right to the city of Montglave (Lyons), then in the hands of the Saracens, which is forthwith conquered by the hero, who afterwards marries Mabilette, the Soldan's daughter. In another romance, containing the history of *Les Quatre Filz Aymon*, we read that Duke Richard of Normandy was playing at chess with Ivonnet, son of Regnaut (Rinaldo), when he was arrested by the officers of Regnaut, who said to him (we quote from the old translation of Copeland, 1504), "'Aryse up, Duke Rycharde; for, in dispite of Charlemayne that loveth you so muche, ye shall be hanged now.' When Duke Rycharde saw that these sergeauntes had him thus by the arm, and helde in his hande a lady *(dame)* of ivery, where wt he would have given a mate to Yonnet, he withdrew his arme, and gave to one of the sergeauntes such a stroke with it into the forehead, that he made him tumble over and over at his feete; and than he tooke a rooke *(roc)* and smote another wt all upon his head, that he all to brost it to the brayne." Examples of this nature might be multiplied to some extent, but the above will be sufficient to shew the manner in which the old romancers introduce the game.

Another instance, of a later date indeed than the period I have left, but early enough to prove my position, that chess must have been known in Europe previous to the first crusade, presents itself in the Epistles of Damiano, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who died in 1080. In a letter to Pope Alexander II. [1061-1073] he mentions an adventure which took place between himself and a Bishop of Florence. "Whilst we were travelling together," he writes, "having arrived in the evening at a resting-place, I withdrew myself to the neighbouring cell of a priest; but he remained with a crowd of

n "'Je parie, que vous ne voudriez pas jouer contre moi vos esperances, sur cet échiquier, à moins que je ne misse gros au jeu.' 'Si fait,' repondis-je, 'les jouerai, pourvu que gagiez contre moi seulement votre royaume de France.' 'Eh bien! voyons,' dit Charles, qui se croyoit fort aux échecs. Nous jouons; je lui gagne son royaume; il se met à rire; moi, je jure par Saint Martin, et par bien d'autres saints de mon pays d'Aquitaine, qu'il faut bien qu'il me paye par quelque accommodement." *Bibliothèque des Romans*, Oct. 1771, vol. ii. p. 8.

people in a large house of entertainment. In the morning, my servant informed me that the Bishop had been playing at the game of chess; which thing when I heard, it pierced to my heart like an arrow. At a convenient hour, I sent for him, and said, in a tone of severe reproof, 'The hand is stretched out; the rod is ready for the back of the offender.' 'Let the fault be proved,' said he, 'and penance shall not be refused.' 'Was it well,' rejoined I; 'was it worthy of the character you bear, to spend the evening in the vanity of chess-play (in vanitate *scachorum)*, and defile the hands and tongue which ought to be the mediators between man and the Deity? Are you not aware that, by the canonical law, bishops, who are dice-players, are ordered to be suspended' *(deponantur)*. He, however, seeking an excuse from the name of the game, and sheltering himself under this shield, suggested that dice was one thing, and chess another; consequently, that dice alone were forbidden by the canon, but chess tacitly allowed. To which I replied thus,—'Chess,' said I, 'is not named in the text, but is comprehended under the general term of dice. Wherefore, since dice are prohibited, and chess is not expressly mentioned, it follows, without doubt, that both kinds of play are included under one term, and equally condemned.'" To this the poor prelate could make no reply, and was ordered by his superior, by way of penance for his offence, to repeat the Psalter over thrice, and to wash the feet of, and give alms to, twelve poor persons.[o] Twiss infers from this story, that chess was then a thing quite new and strange, vol. i. p. 109; but I apprehend the direct reverse should be the conclusion.

The preceding observations have been called forth by a singular discovery, made in the course of the last twelvemonth, which throws no inconsider-

[o] "Dum aliquando sibi essem comes itineris, vespertinum tandem subeuntes hospitium, ego me in presbyteri cellam semovi, is autem in spatiosa domo cum commeantium turba resedit. Mane autem facto, à meo mihi agasone significatum est, quod prædictus Episcopus ludo præfuerit *Scachorum*. Quod profectò verbum, velut sagitta, cor meum acutissimè pupugit.—Ille autem ex diversitate nominum defensionis sibi faciens scutum, ait, aliud *Schachum* esse, aliud aleam. Aleas ergo auctoritas illa prohibuit, *Schachos* vero tacendo concessit. Ad quod ego: *Schachum*, inquam, scriptura non ponit, sed utriusque ludi genus aleæ nomine comprehendit." *Epist. Damiani*, 4to, Par. 1610, p. 45.

able light on the early history of the game of chess, after its arrival in Europe. It was thus announced in one of the Scottish newspapers of June last:—"Some months ago, a very curious discovery was made in the parish of Uig, Isle of Lewis, which must prove highly interesting to Scottish antiquaries. A peasant of the place, whilst digging a sand bank, found upwards of seventy pieces of bone, most of them representing Kings, Bishops, and Knights, dismounted and on horseback. The figures are of excellent workmanship; and, judging from the costume, certainly of very remote antiquity. That they were originally carved for the ancient purpose of Chess-play, seems the most probable conjecture, and had been destined to relieve the sadness of cloistered seclusion; for they were discovered near the ruin known to have been a nunnery, and still named *Taignir collechin dugh an Uig*, the House of Black Women in Uig.[p] With the other articles was found a Buckle of the same kind of bone or ivory, beautifully executed, and in perfect preservation, as are all the rest."

By the liberality of the Trustees of the British Museum, these figures now form a part of the national collection of antiquities, and it is hoped that an accurate delineation and description of them may not be unacceptable to the Society of Antiquaries, even should the writer of the present communication fail in his attempt to give them "a local habitation and a name."

The number of these chess-men—for such they are—exclusive of the fourteen table-men or draught-men, and the fibula found with them, amounts to sixty-seven; of which number nineteen are pawns, the rest superior pieces. Of these, six are Kings, five Queens, thirteen Bishops, fourteen Knights, and ten pieces which I shall designate by the title of *Warders*, which here take the place of the Rook or Castle; forming, altogether, the materials of six or more sets. For the sake of distinction, part of them were originally stained of a dark red or beet-root colour; but from having been so long subject to the action of the salt-water, the colouring matter, in most cases, has been discharged. The pieces vary also in size, according to the

p A private letter from Edinburgh states the story of the Nunnery to be fictitious, but that a ruin of some note exists not far from the spot where these chessmen were found.

sets of which they formed a part; and, although so many remain, it is difficult at present to select even two sets which correspond exactly. A short comparative statement of the height, circumference, and base, of the largest and smallest of each sort, is subjoined:

	Height.	Circumference.	Base.
Largest King	$4\frac{1}{8}$ inch.	$6\frac{3}{4}$ inch.	$2\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch.
Smallest ditto	$3\frac{1}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$
Largest Queen	$3\frac{7}{8}$	$5\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$
Smallest ditto	3	5	$1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$
Largest Bishop	4	$5\frac{3}{8}$	2 by $1\frac{3}{8}$
Smallest ditto	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$4\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$
Largest Knight	4	$6\frac{1}{8}$	$2\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$
Smallest ditto	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$	2 by 1
Largest Warder	4	5	$1\frac{7}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$
Smallest ditto	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$
Largest Pawn	$2\frac{3}{8}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{3}{8}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$
Smallest ditto	$1\frac{5}{8}$	$2\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{7}{8}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$

I. The Kings. In point of costume and attitude these nearly resemble each other. They are represented as elderly men, with large spade-shaped beards, moustaches, and hair falling in plaits over their shoulders, having low trefoil crowns on their heads, either plain or ornamented with a border, and sitting on chairs of a square form, with high backs, which are richly carved with various scrolls, figures of animals, interlaced arches, and tracery work, in the best style of art of the twelfth century, as seen on monuments and in manuscripts. Their dress consists of an upper and an under robe, the former of which, or mantle *(clamys)*, is thrown in folds over the left arm, and left open on the right side as high as the shoulder (where it is fastened by a clasp), for the purpose of leaving the arm free. This was the usual and most ancient form of regal dress, and is every where presented in the MSS. and seals of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as in those of England, Scotland, France, and Germany. Each of the figures holds a sword with both hands across his knees, as if in the act of drawing it, according to the old mode assigned to royal personages. Thus, in the *Grimnis-mal*, one of

the Eddaic poems, King Geirraudr sat with his sword on his knee, the blade half-drawn, listening to the words of Odin.[q] The swords are broad and short, and the scabbard is marked, either with a simple longitudinal line, or with lines diagonally placed, resembling those in the illuminations prefixed to the Theotisc Harmony of the Gospels, MS. Cott. Calig. A. VII.[r] A similar description of weapon, held by a king in the same position as above described, may be seen in Reenhielm's Notes on the Saga of Thorsten Viikings-son,[s] copied from an Icelandic MS. of the thirteenth century. He supposes this to be the species of sword called *Sax*, to distinguish it from that termed *Machir* (μάχειρα), which was of greater length.

The minuter differences of the several figures will best be illustrated by taking them up separately, and comparing them with what I designate No. 1, which has been selected for engraving, as shown in Pl. XLVI. fig. 1, 2.

No. 2—Differs from the former in having no beard nor moustaches. The crown is quite plain, and the hem or border of the tunic is shown. On the back of the chair appears the elegant ornament engraved in Pl. XLIX. fig. 11. On the sides of the royal seat are also two smaller patterns, as annexed.

[q] Edda Sæmundar, vol. i. p. 68. Cf. Anderson's Diplom. Scot. pl. xxiv.

[r] This MS. has been absurdly called King Canute's Prayer Book, and Strutt has engraved figures from the illuminations prefixed as specimens of Danish armour of the reign of Canute. But these miniatures have no connexion at all with the MS., and were added to it at a recent period. They were evidently executed in France about the middle of the twelfth century, and, in many respects, correspond very accurately with the costume of the Chess-men I am describing.—See Strutt's *Horda*, pl. 26, 27, and *Chron. of England*, vol. ii. p. 215. Meyrick's Ancient Armour, vol. i. p. lxix. Cf. Willemin's *Monumens Français Inedits*, fol.

[s] 12mo. Ups. 1680, p. 85.

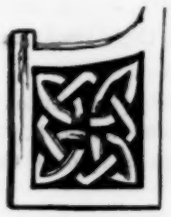
Ancient Chess-men, found in the Isle of Lewis.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April, 1831.

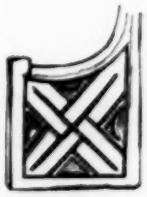
No. 3.—This figure is of lower stature, and of ruder appearance and workmanship, particularly in respect to the features. The hair is not plaited, as in the preceding instances, but spreads over the back in six long wreaths. The crown has a rude ornament cut on it in front, and the tunic covers the feet entirely. The sword has been broken off. On the back of the seat is a less artificial form of ornament (Pl. XLIX. fig. 8.), which would also indicate an earlier period of art than most of the other pieces; and on the sides are the following:

No. 4—Resembles No. 2, but is of smaller size and inferior workmanwanship. It seems to have been originally coloured *red.* The two side ornaments also are very similar to those on No. 2. That on the back of the chair is engraved on Pl. XLVIII. fig. 5.

No. 5.—Probably belonged to the same set as the last, as it is of the same size and form. The face is without beard, and a plain crown, as No. 2. The hair differs from the other instances, and, instead of flowing over the shoulders, is cut round a little below the neck. The crown and hair are damaged behind. The feet are also not seen, but covered by the border of the tunic. The ornament behind the seat is in Pl. XLIX. fig. 10, and those on the sides are represented beneath.



No. 6.—The only variation here worth notice is, that the plaits of hair are disposed in five, instead of four wreaths, as in the plate. The back of the chair is remarkable, as well for its neat execution, as from its exhibiting the intersection of the round arch, as seen in our early Norman churches. It is represented in Pl. XLIX. fig. 3, and the smaller ornaments appear thus:



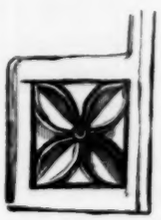
It is not a little remarkable, that a figure resembling in most respects those above described, and made of the same material, should have been discovered about sixty years ago, in a ruinous part of the Castle of Dunstaffnage, in Scotland, situated on the coast of Argyleshire, opposite to the Isle of Mull. Mr. Pennant gives an engraving of it in his Scottish Tour of 1772, vol. ii. p. 410, pl. 44; but erroneously conjectures it to have been cut in memory of the famous coronation chair in which the monarchs of Scotland were anciently wont to be crowned. But he is certainly mistaken, and there can be no doubt but that the figure once formed one of a set of chess-men similar to those before us.

II.—The Queens. These are also represented sitting in chairs, ornamented in a style similar to those of the Kings, and crowned. From the back of the head of each hangs a species of hood, which spreads over the shoulders, and was worn universally by ladies of rank in the middle ages, as is proved by MSS. and monuments, particularly of the Franks and Saxons.[t]

[t] See Montfaucon, *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, vol. i. pl. 8.; Mailliot, *Recherches sur les Costumes des Anciens Peuples*, tom. iii. 4to. Par. 1809; MS. Cott. Nero, c. iv. f. 13 b.; Strutt's Dresses, vol. i. p. 12, from MS. Cott. Claud. B. iv.; and *Horda*, pl. 28, figure of Canute's Queen, from the Hyde Abbey Book, at Stowe.

The same head-attire is shown in the monuments of Sweden and Denmark.[u] From the shoulders to the feet hangs a long mantle, which shows in front a sub-garment or gown. The sleeves of this, like those of the Saxons and Norman French, are short, with a worked border, and from the elbow to the wrist is a series of plaits, resembling bands, which probably were wound round the arm. Most of the figures are represented in a contemplative posture. The head rests upon the right arm, which is supported by the left. This is the case with three out of the five instances; but in No. 1, engraved on Pl. XLVI. fig. 3, 4, the left hand holds a drinking-horn,[x] curiously shaped. The other variations of consequence follow:

No. 2.—The ornament on the back of the seat, over which hangs a piece of drapery, is given in Pl. XLIX. fig. 9, and the smaller ones are below.



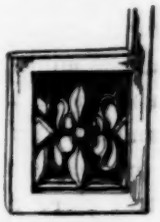
[u] See in Peringskiold, *Attalar för Swea och Götha Konunga Hus*, fol. Stockh. 1725, the monument of King Eric and his Queen Richessa, at the beginning of the thirteenth century; the seal of Ingebirga, wife of Duke Waldemar, and Countess of Holland in 1317; and the monument of Birger Peterson and his wife, 1328.

[x] Respecting the use of horns as drinking-cups, formerly so universal among the Gothic nations, see Wormius's learned treatise on the golden horn in the King of Denmark's collection (*Danica Monumenta*, fol. Hafn. 1643), where many examples are engraved. See also a representation of them in Saxon times, in MS. Cott. Claud. B. iv. f. 32 b. Strutt's *Horda*, vol. i. pl. 16. These horns are not uncommon in England, witness the horn at York Cathedral (Archæolog. i. 168), the Pusey Horn (Ib. iii. 3, 9, 13), the horn at Queen's College, Oxford (engraved in Haslewood's edit. of *Barnabæ Itinerarium*), &c. In the Archæologia, vol. xi. App. p. 429, is an engraving of one, probably Danish, found in Ireland. Horns were also sometimes used to keep money in, as appears from a passage in the Edda, where it is said that Ursa, wife of Adil, King of Sweden, gave a *horn filled with gold* to her son Hrolf Kraka, King of Denmark, to induce him to renew his friendship with her.—Wormius, p. 384. To those who may not think it becoming in a queen to hold a horn of ale in her hand, the latter mode of accounting for its introduction may appear preferable.

No. 3.—This figure is of inferior execution to the two former. The mantle or cloak has a wavy border round it, and beneath is a vestment falling in a pointed fold, a little below the knees, displaying underneath a striped petticoat. The feet are here visible, which are covered in the other instances, and the hood at the back of the head is ar-arranged in a somewhat different manner. On the chair is another example of the intersected round arch, represented in Pl. XLIX. fig. 4, and the other small ornaments are given beneath.

No. 4.—This and the next figure evidently belong to the same set, and match with No. 4 of the Kings. The crowns of both are of a different form from the rest, and the hood terminates very gracefully in a border, thus:

The larger decoration of the chair is in Pl. XLIX, fig. 5, and the two smaller ones follow.



This figure is one of the *red* set, and still preserves the colour very deeply.

No. 5.—The general character of this piece much resembles the last, but the attitude of the arms is different. The right arm supports the head, as before, but the left rests on her knee, and holds a sort of handkerchief, as here represented.

The back of her chair appears in Pl. XLIX. fig. 12, and represents two nondescript animals intwined with scrolls, very tastefully disposed. Two lesser designs are on the sides, which follow:

From the above pieces we are enabled to speak confidently as to the very early appearance of the Queen in the European chess-board, and consequently to reject the fictions of those writers who have ascribed it, at a comparatively recent period, to the French, from some fancied similarity of sound between *Fierce* or *Fers*, the old Norman and English term for

the Queen (corrupted from the Arabic فرز *Pherz*, Persian فرزين *Pherzín*, a councillor, or vizier) and the French, *Vierge*. The same fact is proved by the set of chess-men belonging to Charlemagne, of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. It is to the Greeks, consequently, we should ascribe the merit or blame of metamorphosing the minister into the Queen, and by that means introducing so strange an anomaly as the promotion of a foot-soldier to be a lady. Freret and Le Grand have attributed this innovation to the "galanterie chevaleresque" of the middle ages, which subsequently rendered the Queen the most important piece on the board; but, in truth, this change must have been nearly coeval with the first appearance of the game in Europe, and the restricted move of the *Fierce*, or Queen, to one square, certainly continued to be observed till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Further evidence of the Chess-Queen having existed in the twelfth century, may be found in a Latin poem of that age in the Bodleian library.[y]

Rex paratus ad pugnandum, primum locum teneat,
Ejus atque dextrum latus *Regina* possideat.

* * * * * * *

Nam *Regina* non valebit impedire alteram;
Suo *Regi* deputata, velut pro custodia,
Circumquaque per transversum binas regat tabulas.
Cum *Pedester* usque summam venerit ad tabulam,
Nomen ejus hinc mutetur, appelletur *Ferzia;*
Ejus interim *Reginæ* gratiam obtineat.

It will here not fail to be remarked, that the terms both of *Ferzia* and *Regina* are used synonymously, which is also the case in the *Moralitas de Scaccario*, improperly ascribed to Pope Innocent III.[z]; and in a Latin poem

y MS. Bodl. 799, f. 110 b. It is printed by Hyde, but very incorrectly, p. 179.

z "*Regina* que dicitur *Ferce*, vadit oblique, et capit indirecte, quia cum avarissimum sit genus mulierum, nichil capit (nisi merè detur ex gratia) nisi rapina et injusticia." MS. Harl. 2253, f. 135 b (written temp. Edw. II.); MS. Bodl. 52, f. 59 b; MS. Reg. 12 E. xxi. f. 99 b. This tract was printed by Dr. Prideaux, in his *Hypomneumata Logica*, 8vo. and translated by Twiss, vol. ii. p. 4. Cf. with MS. Sloan. 4029, f. 36 b; and see Hyde, p. 179.

of uncertain age, but probably of the 13th century.[a] In another poem of considerable antiquity, supposed to have been written by Pamphilius Maurilianus, but which has been falsely attributed to Ovid, the Queen is called *Virgo*; and Mr. Douce has pointed out to us the title of *Regina*, applied to this piece in the Gesta Romanorum, compiled at the beginning of the 13th century.[b] The names both of *Reyne* and *Ferce* occur in a very curious metrical Anglo-Norman treatise on the game, composed by an English author in the time of Edward I.[c], and also in some English illustrations of chess positions about the reign of Edward IV.[d] To all this evidence may be added that of the popular work of Jacobus de Cessolis, a Dominican friar of

[a] MSS. Coll. Arm. E. D. N. No. 11, ad calc. MS. Bodl. 487, f. 62. It is printed in Hyde, p. 181, from an inaccurate transcript of a copy at Daventer, in Holland. Compare also a similar poem in MS. Reg. 12 E. xxi. f. 99, and the New Monthly Mag. vol. V. p. 127, 1822.—In the Hebrew treatise of Aben-Jachia, published by Hyde, this piece is also considered as a female; but in the earlier composition of Aben-Ezra, who died about A.D. 1174, the term of פרז Pherz only is used. Hyde makes a mistake in translating some lines relative to the move of this piece, which may here be corrected. Aben-Ezra says of the Elephant,—

כמו פרז הליכתו אבל יש
לזה יתרון למה שהוא משלש

Sicut פרז Pherz est incessus ejus, nisi quod sit
Huic præcellentia, eo quod ille sit *tantum* trifarius.

Hyde was not aware that the superiority lay on the side of the Elephant or Bishop, which could move over three squares diagonally, including the one on which it stood; whereas the Queen or Pherz could only move one square at a time. We should therefore omit the word *tantum*, and translate as follows: "Its move is like that of the Pherz (diagonal), except that it has over this (the Pherz) a superiority, by its having the power to pass over three squares at a move."

[b] Dissert. in Archæolog. vol. xi. p. 400; Twiss, vol. ii. p. 255.

[c] MS. Cott. Cleop. B. ix. A later copy of this work, considerably augmented, occurs in MS. Reg. 12 E. xxi. Both are illustrated with diagrams. From the former of these MSS. Strutt engraved (incorrectly) the forms of the men, and a *round* chess-board (*Sports*, p. 276, 2d ed.); but he was unable to understand the text. A more ample account of the MS. is given by Mr. Allen in the New Monthly Mag. vol. iv. pp. 499-501; but his translation is very faulty. It is my intention, at no very distant period, to publish both these treatises, with a variety of other documents relating to chess, collected from the MS. libraries in England and on the Continent.

[d] I am indebted for the use of this MS. to John Baker, Esq. It belongs to his uncle, the talented historian of Northamptonshire.

Cessoles, near the frontiers of Picardy,[e] who wrote about the year 1290, which was translated into nearly all the languages of Europe. In it the Queen is thus described, to use the words of Caxton's version, 2d Ed. [1474]: —"Thus ought the quene be maad. She ought to be a fayr lady, sittyng in a chayer, and crowned with a corone on her heed, and cladde with a cloth of gold, and above furrid with ermynes."[f] It evidently, therefore, results from the above passages, that, although the term of *Fierge*, *Fierce*, *Ferz*, or *Fers*, seems to have been more usually employed than that of Queen, from the 12th to the 15th century, both in France and England;[g] yet that the title of Queen was never wholly laid aside, and was finally resumed in England in the reign of Henry the Eighth.[h]

III. The Bishops.—Five of these are represented sitting in ornamented chairs, like the King and Queen; but the remaining eight are in a standing posture. Their dress is of two descriptions. All of the sitting figures, and four of the standing ones, wear the chasuble,[i] dalmatic, stole, and tunic, of the form anciently prescribed, and corresponding with representations of much greater antiquity. The remainder have a cope instead of a chasuble, but omit the stole and dalmatic. On the back both of the chasuble and stole are various crosses or ornaments. The mitres are very low, and in some instances quite plain, but have the double band or *infulæ* attached behind. The hair is cut short round the head. They hold a crosier with one, or with both hands; and, in the former instances, the other hand holds a book, or is raised in the attitude of benediction. The engraving of No. 1 in Pl. XLVII. fig. 1, 2, will exemplify the sitting figures.

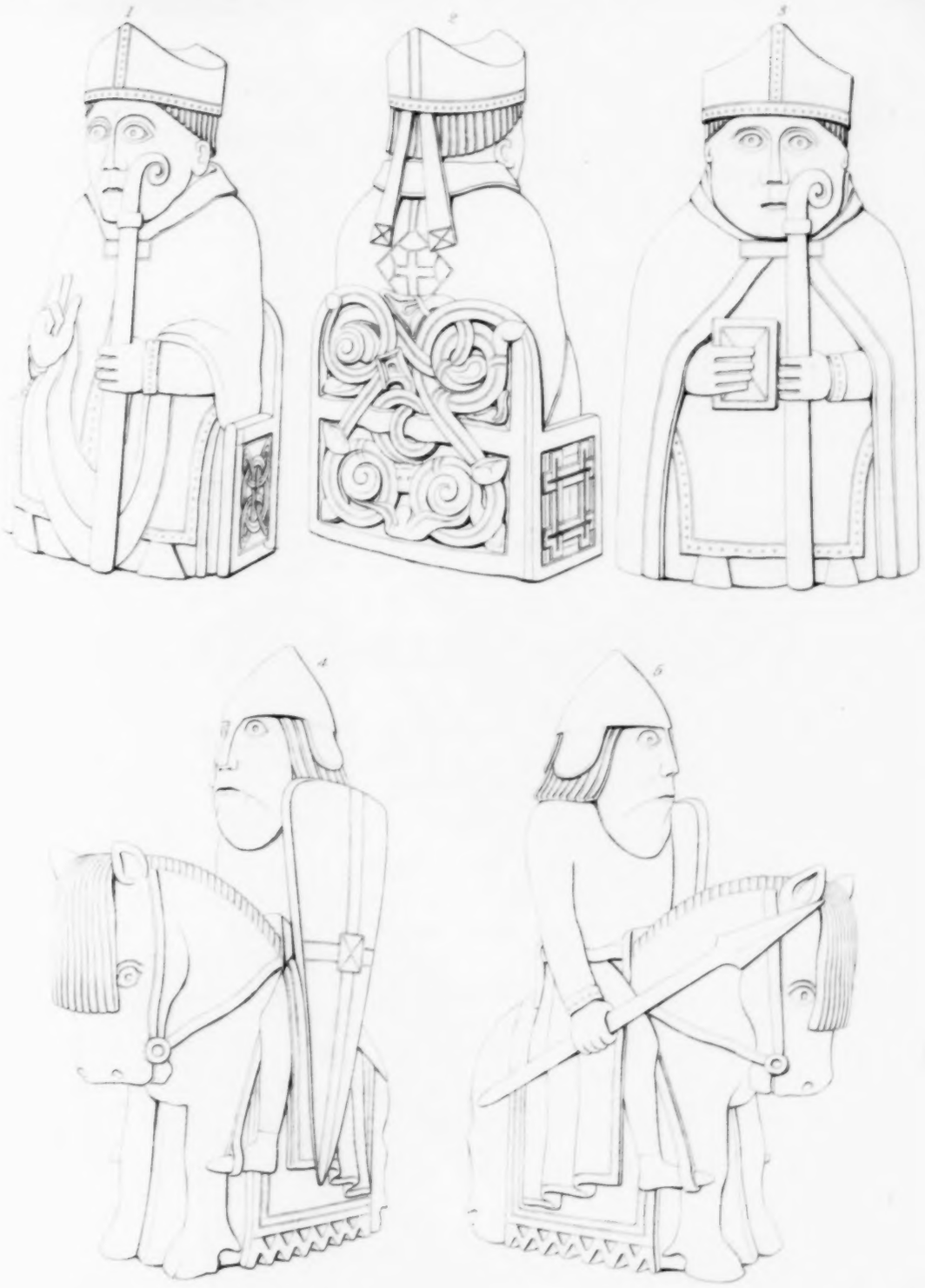
[e] See Marchand's Dict. Historique, i. 179. Dibdin's Ames, i. 52 n.

[f] "Super solium collocata est domina quædam pulchra cum corona in capite, vestimento deaurato, et clamyde circumamicta varietate" *(sic)*. MS. Reg. 12 B. xxiii.; 12 E. xxii.; MS. Harl. 3238.

[g] See Roman d'Alexandre, MS. Bodl. 264, f. 129; Roman de la Rose, v. 6688, 6701, 6735; Chaucer's Book of the Duchess, v. 654; Lydgate ap. Hyde, proleg. (b).

[h] Horman's Vulgaria, 4to, Lond. 1519.

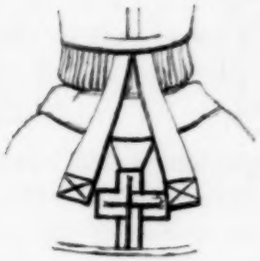
[i] For an explanation of these terms, see Mr. Gage's valuable communication in the present volume, p. 33.



Ancient Chess-men, found in the Isle of Lewis.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, [illegible]

No. 2.—Resembles the former; but the crosier is held in the right hand, and in the left, which rests on the knee, is an Evangelistarium, or volume of the Gospels. On the back of the chasuble is a cross of a different shape; thus—

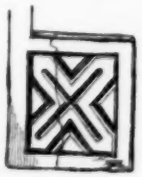


The larger ornament on the chair is given in Pl. XLIX. fig. 7, and those on the sides appear below:

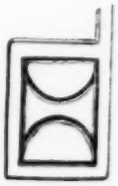
No. 3.—The position is exactly that of No. 1; but the crosier has been broken off by accident, and the figure is otherwise damaged. The mitre and dalmatic are quite plain, and on the back of the chasuble is this ornament,—

The decoration of the chair appears in Pl. XLIX. fig. 2, and the smaller patterns are subjoined:

No. 4—Holds in the right hand a book, and a crosier in the left. The mitre and back of the chasuble are plain. On the chair appears another curious illustration of the intersected round arch, as shewn in Pl. XLIX. fig. 1. The smaller ornaments are both alike. This piece has originally been coloured *red*.

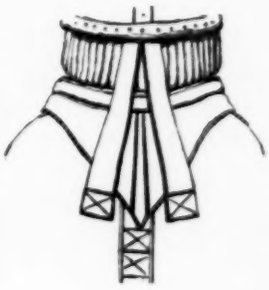


No. 5.—The crosier here appears in the right, the book in the left hand. On the back of the chasuble is a cross nearly resembling that on No. 3. The chair is represented in Pl. XLIX. fig. 6, and on the sides is the following device. This piece has likewise belonged to the *red* set, and still retains the colour very deeply.



No. 6—Is in an upright or standing posture; but the dress is the same as No. 1, and the position of the arms resembles No. 5. On the back of the chasuble is a plain ornament of four stripes.

No. 7—Holds the book in the right, the crosier in the left hand. We have in this the first instance of the *capa* or cope, which, instead of inclosing the body as the chasuble, opens in front, and shews the dalmatic, stole, and tunic more distinctly, as appears in Pl. XLVII. fig. 3. The form of the collar and ornament on the back will best appear by the wood-cut annexed.



No. 8—Holds the crosier in both hands, and wears only the cope and tunic. This is the case also with Nos. 9, 11, and 12. Probably this piece was originally *red.*

No. 9.—The disposition of the book and crosier is as in No. 5. The mitre is more pointed than we have hitherto seen it, and has no infulæ attached; it is also shaped differently in front, as here represented.

No. 10.—Same attitude as the last, and belonged, probably, as well as No. 11, to the same set. The mitre is like No. 5. We have here again the chasuble instead of the cope. On the back is the same ornament as No. 9, but the cope has a straight instead of a pointed collar. This piece is of the *red* set.

No. 11—Holds the crosier with both hands, as No. 8. The mitre is pointed as No. 9. The ornament on the cope nearly resembles No. 7.

No. 12.—Same attitude as the last. The ornament is, like No. 8, composed of four stripes, with bars across.

No. 13.—Same attitude, but wears the chasuble, and the stole in addition. From its size this figure probably belonged to No. 6 of the Kings. On the back is an ornament very like that on No. 3.

Here again, as in the preceding instance of the Queen, we learn with certainty the introduction of the Bishop into the game of chess at so early a period as the middle of the twelfth century. The original name of this piece among the Persians and Arabs was پیل ***Pil,*** or فیل ***Phil,*** an Elephant, under the form of which it was represented by the orientals, and Dr. Hyde and Mr. Douce have satisfactorily proved that hence, with the addition of the article ***al,*** have been derived the various names of ***alfil, arfil, alferez, alphilus, alfino, alphino, alfiere, aufin, alfyn, awfyn, alphyn, alfyn,*** as used by the early Spanish, Italian, French, and English writers.[j] Aben-

[j] Hyde, p. 95. Douce, in Archæol. xi. pp. 400—404. Allen, in New Monthly Mag. p. 128, vol. v. 1822.

Ezra, in the twelfth century, retains the original term of פיל ***Phil***, but in the ***Roman d'Alexandre***, composed before the year 1200, we find it in the form of *aufin;* and from the French Romances it was borrowed by the English. With regard to the period when the Bishop first took the place of the Elephant, authors are silent, nor has any evidence occurred to determine. But that such a change is of great antiquity not only is apparent from the figures before us, but from the Latin poem before quoted of the twelfth century, in which the piece is termed ***Calvus***, an evident allusion to the monkish character.

> "Juxta illam [Reginam] *Calvum* pone, quasi pro custodia."

And again:

> "Cedit *Calvus* per transversum, tertiam ad tabulam."

So also in the poem attributed to Pamphilius Maurilianus:

> "Rex est Sol, pedes est Saturnus, Mars quoque miles,
> Regia virgo Venus, *Alphinus Episcopus* ipse est
> Juppiter, et Roccus discurrens Luna."[k]

And in the ***Moralitas de Scaccario***, we read, "***Alphini*** sunt ***Episcopi***, non ut Moyses, ex colloquio divino, sed pocius regio imperio, prece, vel precio sublimati, et sic promoti. Isti *Alphini* oblique currunt, et tres punctos pertranseunt," &c. MS. Harl. 2253. f. 135 b. A later copy in MS. Reg. 12, E. xxi. has this remarkable variation: "Alphini prelati sunt ecclesiis proprii, scilicet archiepiscopi et episcopi *cornuti*."

In the old French writers we meet also with decided traces of such a piece as the Bishop. Thus, in the Roman d'Alexandre, as quoted by Charpentier, in his additions to Du Cange:

> "Roy, fierce, cheualier, auffin, roc, et *cornu*[l]
> Furent fet de saphir——"

[k] Vide Fabric. Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat. v. 556. The poem was printed by Goldastus, in 8vo. 1610, with other pieces; but, as the volume is not in the Museum, I am obliged to quote from second hand.

[l] There is some little difficulty here, and it would read better thus: "Roc et *auffin cornu*." These lines do not occur in the magnificent copy of this Romance preserved in the Bodleian library, No. 264, but are replaced by the following:

And in the MS. treatise on Chess, in the Cottonian library, Cleop. E. ix. f. 4 b.

" Al neofisme vient auaunt li Cornuz,
Si li mostre ses *corns aguz*;
Si compainz comenca la medlée,
I cist Cornu corne la menée.

At the ninth move [the king] comes before the *Cornute*,
Who shews to him his pointed horns:
His companion began the contest,
And this *Cornute* finishes it."

And again, f. 7:

" Ore uient le giu des *alfins*,
Ke n'est pas poure ne srarins.
Tut seit iceo qu'il seit *cornuz*,
Ne deit estre pur *fol* tenuz;
Kar mult par ad grant mestir
Li *aufins* en l'eschekier.

Now comes the game of the *Alfins*,
Which is neither poor nor ..... ?
Every body knows that he is a *Cornute*,
And ought not to be taken for a *Fool*,
For the *Alfin* on the chess-board
Possesses very great power."

The allusion is here made to the *cornuted* or forked heads of the mitred chess-man, which served as an epitome of the Bishop, and this form has been retained down to the present day.[m] Mr. Douce believed, that the earliest instance of the use of the term *Bishop* in English writers, occurred

" Li eschec de saphirs, le roi Assueru,
Et de riches topasses, a toute lor vertu,
Pigmalyun les fist, li fiex [fils] Candeolu."

[m] In MS. Cott. Cleop. B. ix. and in Von Manesse's MS. of the Minnesingers, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, of nearly the same age, the Bishop is represented of this shape. In Caxton's translation of De Cessolis, the forked head is very apparent, (but falsely appropriated by Hyde to the Rook,) and in the German treatise of Jacob Mennel, 4to. Franck. 1536, (where this piece is termed *Alt*, as it is also in Conrad von Ammenhusen's translation of De Cessolis, in 1337), are two curious forms engraven, both exhibiting the bi-furcated head.

so late as the time of Charles the First, in Arthur Saul's "Famous Game of Chesse Play."[n] But it was certainly used as the usual form in England in the time of Elizabeth, as appears from Rowbotham's "Pleasaunt and wittie Playe of the Cheasts renewed," 12mo, Lond. 1562.[o] He says of it: "The *Bishoppes* some name Alphins, some fooles, and some name them Princes: other some call them Archers, and thei are fashioned accordinge to the wyll of the workemen:" and again, *Of the Bishop or Archer:* "In the auncient tyme the Frenchmen named him Foole, whiche seemeth vnto me an improper name. The Spaniardes named him Prince, with some reason, and some name him Archer;" and of its form among the English, he tells us: "The Bishoppe is made with a sharpe toppe and cloven in the middest, not muche vnlyke to a bishops myter." And in a MS. belonging to John Gage, Esq. of the time of James the First, is the following passage, apparently taken from an earlier writer: "In primâ acie collocatur peditatus; his proximus est equitatus. Hos vero sequuntur Satellites, qui à formâ mitræ episcopalis *Episcopi* nominantur."

Among the northern nations we find, that the Russians and Swedes retain the original appellation of Elephant, (but Weickmann, in his work *Die grosse Schach Spiel*, fol. 1664, terms it *Gaistlicher*, *i. e.* homo spiritualis); the Germans call it *Läuffer*, the Leaper, from the ancient mode of taking over an intervening piece, and the Poles *Póp*, Papa, or Priest. But it is particularly deserving of remark, that among the Icelanders and Danes this piece, from the most ancient times, has always been termed *Biskup*, Bishop, and this may assist us hereafter in determining the locality of the figures we are describing.[p]

[n] Mr. Douce supposed the first edition of this book to have appeared in 1640, but in the King's library is an edition dated 1614, 12mo, dedicated to Lucy, the wife of Edward third Earl of Bedford; and another copy is in the Bodleian.

[o] Rowbotham's description of all the pieces is copied nearly verbatim in the introduction to a poem, entitled, "Ludus Scacchiæ. By G. B." 4to. Lond. 1597.

[p] This history of this piece is rendered still more singular from its having undergone two other transformations, a brief account of which is here annexed:

1. In the set of chess-men which belonged to Charlemagne, the form is said to be that of an Archer, ready to shoot. This term of Archer is adopted by Rabelais, in 1550. We meet with it also in the Duke of Lunenburg's work, fol. Lips. 1617, c. 8, where an engraving is given repre-

IV. The KNIGHTS. These are whole-length figures, mounted on horseback, and are, perhaps, the most interesting portion of the whole. They are habited in long coats or gambesons, which hang in folds as low as the feet, and the sleeves terminate with a cuff or border at the wrist. The leg has apparently a covering of some sort down to the ancle, where it is met by a species of half-boot, without spur. Their helmets, with a few exceptions, are of a conical shape, and mostly with nasals, and round flaps to protect the ears and neck. A long kite-form shield, suspended from the neck, hangs on the left side of each, ornamented with various devices, approaching in some instances very closely to heraldic distinctions. Beneath the shield appears the sword, which is fastened round the waist by a belt, and in the right-hand each knight carries a massive spear. All the figures have large beards and moustaches, and the hair is cut round, a little below the ears. The horses are caparisoned in high saddles, plain or ornamented; saddle cloths, curiously bordered, stirrups, and bridles. The mane is cut short, and the hair suffered to grow down on the forehead. No. 1, engraven in Plate XLVII. fig. 4, 5, will best illustrate the above general description.

No. 2. The beard of this figure is divided into three forks, instead of

senting a *Schütze*, or Archer. It has occurred above in Rowbotham; and in Beale's translation of Biochimo, published in 1656, he writes, p. 2, "Next to the King's other side place a *Bishop* or *Archer*, who is commonly figured with his head cloven." Vida in his poem (composed in 1540) combines the Archer with the Centaur, and terms these pieces "Sagittiferi Centauri."

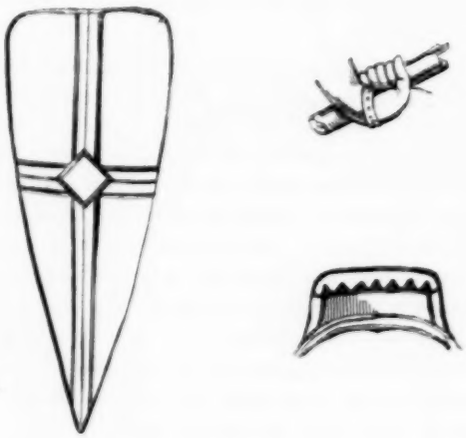
2. The French at an early period corrupted the oriental term *Phil* or *Fil* into *Fol*, and hence represented this piece under the form of a Jester, or court Fool, which designation is still retained in France in preference to that of *prêtre*. The term occurs in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, and in the *Roman de la Rose* (in both of which it is also termed *aufin*), Archæolog. xi. p. 401, and is alluded to in the Anglo-Norman poem quoted above. So also in the Latin poem of the 13th century, printed inaccurately by Hyde:

> "Rex et Regina, *Stolidorum* corpora bina,"———
> "*Stultus Saltator* trivius [*al.* trinus] quasi fur speculator,
> Si rubus in primo, nunquam candebit in imo."

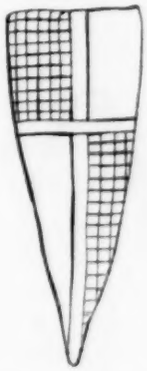
In the early copy, in the Coll. of Arms, a gloss is added above, *li aufins*, and it is rather singular to trace in this one line the *Fou* of the French, the *Läuffer* of the Germans, and the *Aufin* of the French, Italians, and English.

being round like the rest, and the flaps of the helmet are longer. These peculiarities, with the mode of wearing the hair behind, may be seen in the following representation:

The shield has a cross of a different form on it, suspended as before. The position of the right hand is also singular, as is the case likewise with Nos. 3, 4, and 12, and may serve to shew how far the skill of the artist extended. The saddle is ornamented behind, and is a fair specimen of the equipment.



No. 3. The helmet has a border, and no nasal, as exhibited below, together with the shield, which presents a bearing very similar to what in heraldry would be termed quarterly of two colours. No shoulder belt is visible, but the sword belt is very clearly defined.



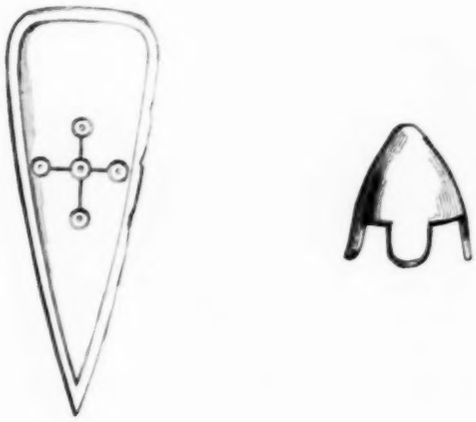
No. 4. The shield is quite plain, and more rounded at the top. The saddle is also plain, as the last.

No. 5. The helmet is as No. 1, but a little flattened on the top, and the shield bears an indented lozenge:

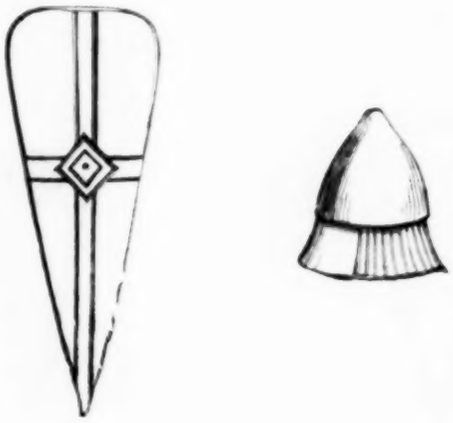
No. 4.

No. 5.

No 6—Very similar to the last, but has neither shoulder nor sword belt. The helmet is like No. 1, but smaller, and on the shield is a species of cross. The right foreleg of the horse has been broken off.



No. 7—The helmet is here a plain cone, without either nasal or flaps. By the negligence of the sculptor, one side of the hair has been left unfinished. The shield bears a cross approaching in form to No. 2.

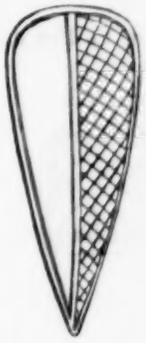


No. 8—Is remarkable for its fine condition, and the high polish it still bears. The helmet resembles No. 7, and the beard and moustaches are strongly marked. On the shield is a lozenge within an indented square.

No. 9—Is of rather different character. The helmet is a plain round scull-cap or morion, and the beard and hair are worn short. The shield is more rounded, and the saddle much lower. There is no shoulder-belt. The horse's mane is also differently disposed. On the whole, it is of inferior execution to those which have preceded. The device on the shield approaches very closely that on the flag called the Union Jack:

No. 9.

No. 9



No. 10.

No. 10—In the style of the last. The helmet is the same, but with a rim to it, and the shield is divided into what would now be termed, in heraldic phrase, party per pale.

No. 11—This piece has been damaged. A fracture extends from the head to the waist, and a portion of the saddle cloth is broken off on the left side. The helmet is of a singular shape, and has no nasal, and the shield bears a cross elegantly engraved. No sword-belt is visible. The beard and hair are quite short:

No. 11.

No. 11.

No. 12.

No. 12—Has a plain conic helmet without nasal, resembling No. 5 of the Warders. The saddle resembles No. 2. No sword-belt. On the shield is a saltire on a chief, if I may be permitted to adapt heraldic terms to such an ornament.

No. 13—Is similar to Nos. 9, 10; but not so tall. The cap is flatter. The bearing on the shield is very similar to the last. This piece belonged to the *red* set.

No. 13.

No. 13.

No. 14.

No. 14—Resembles No. 1, but is of smaller dimensions. The helmet has pendant flaps to protect the ears and neck, but no nasal. No waist-belt is visible, and the shield bears a cross intersected in the centre by a square.

There is but little to remark on the history of the chess-Knight, since its name and move have always remained pretty much the same.[q] On the chess-boards of the 13th century it appears of this form which, in truth, is a rude representation of the head of a horse, intended as an epitome of the whole figure, in the same manner as the mitre represented the Bishop. In Caxton a very similar, but clumsier, form is given. Hence the name of *Horse* bestowed on this piece by the Russians, Swedes, and some other nations. Hence, also, the peculiar form often given to the modern Knight, which is as early as the time of Queen Elizabeth, or earlier, since Rowbotham speaks of the Knight as having "his top cut asloope, as though beynge dubbed knight."[r] Among Charlemagne's chess-men, if Dr. Hyde is to be depended on, it is represented under the form of a Centaur.

V. The Warders. These are armed warriors (*Hrokr*, in Icelandic) which here take the place of the Rook or Castle. They are represented in a standing attitude, attired in helmets of various shapes, but chiefly conical, with or without flaps, and wanting the nasal. The coat or gambeson which most of them wear, descends to the feet, but in lieu of this others have a coat of mail, with a hood which covers the head. They all hold a shield in one hand and a sword in the other, but the position is varied, either in front, or at the side. The shields all bear distinctive marks, like those of the Knights, but some of them are of a much broader shape, and less elongated.

[q] It is called by the modern Germans *Springer*, by the Swedes *Lopare*, from the nature of its move.

[r] 12mo, Lond. 1562, Cf. Archæolog. xi. p. 405. In Jacob Mennel's treatise, 1507, the Knight has two forms, more or less varying from the prototype.

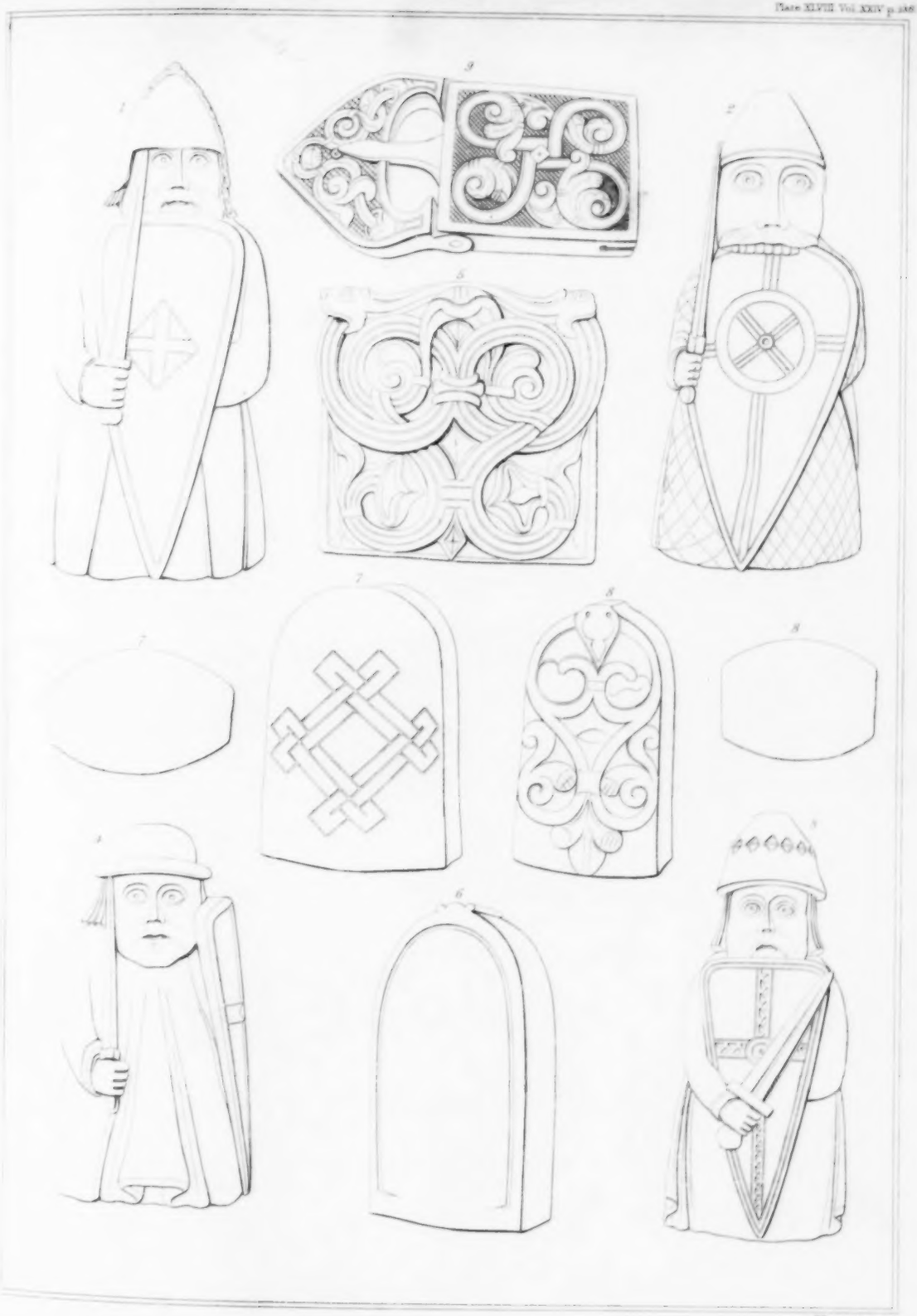
No. 1. engraved in Plate XLVIII. fig. 1. exhibits the general appearance of the first five pieces. The helmet is similar to that of the Knight, No. 1, but without the nasal. On the back of the figure appears the shoulder belt, and the coat descends in loose folds.

Nos. 2, 3, resemble the former in every respect, excepting the shields, which are here copied, and which are held on the left side of each.

No. 2. *No.* 3. *No.* 4.

No. 4. The same, but the helmet is of the same description as No. 14 of the Knights. The shield bears a cross within a circle, and is held at the side. There is no shoulder belt.

No. 5. Of the same form as those which precede, but differing in the shape of the helmet, which has a vertical ridge extending from the front to the back of the head. No shoulder belt is visible, and the shield has a cross resembling that of the Knight, No. 14, and is held on the side. This



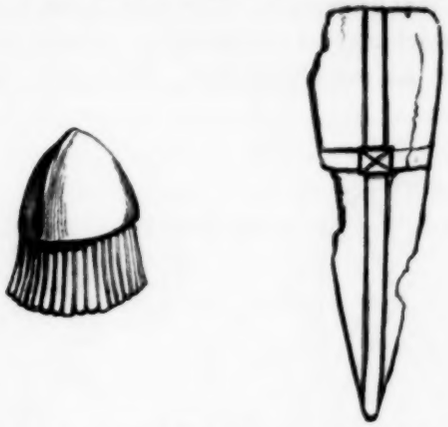
Ancient Chess-men &c. found in the Isle of Lewis.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April 1832

Ornaments on the Ancient Chess-men, found in the Isle of Lewis.

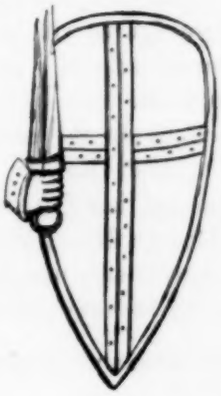
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1831.

figure is damaged, and the sword, which is held across the breast, has been broken off.



No. 6. Engraven in Plate XLVIII. fig. 2, and exhibits a specimen of the mail or *hringed-byrne*, which covered the figure from head to foot. For additional security, a plain conical helmet is worn over it. The scabbard of the sword appears from under the left arm, and in this, as well as in the two next figures, seems to have been fastened to the wearer, by passing through an aperture in the mail; as represented very distinctly in some French illuminations of the twelfth century, in MS. Cott. Nero, c. iv. f. 7, and in Strutt's Dresses, i. 43. The peculiarity observable in the distorted features of this and the two succeeding pieces, who are all represented biting their shields, will be illustrated in another part of these remarks.

No. 7. Resembles the last, but the mail has no hood, and terminates at the neck, so that the hair is suffered to appear. On the shield is a cross, thus depicted:



No. 8. Is also similar in general character, but here the hood covers the head, without any other protection. The mail forms a sort of fold at the back of the neck, which may be occasioned by a band fastening it within. The shield and head are exhibited below. This piece seems to have belonged to the *red* set.

No. 9. May be referred to in Plate XLVIII. fig. 3. The dress is nearly the same as that of No. 1, excepting the helmet, which is of a peculiar shape. The back of the figure is quite plain, and the coat or gambeson has its folds disposed on the sides.

No. 10. This, which is the smallest of the pieces, is also engraven, Plate XLVIII. fig. 4, and exhibits a character dissimilar from the rest. The helmet is a sort of round morion, and forms a striking contrast with the high cone-shaped caps and mail hoods of its companions. Some additional observations on the armour of all these figures will be submitted, when I come to consider the costume more particularly with regard to the period when I believe them to have been executed.

Mr. Douce's curious collections on the name and form of this piece,[s] scarcely leave me any thing to add. But, in regard to its shape, I am enabled to point out earlier instances than Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Cessolis, referred to in Mr. Douce's Dissertation. The most ancient form after the game arrived in Europe is very uncertain, but seems to have been that of an Elephant, as shewn by the set of chess-men belonging to Charle-

[s] See Archæologia, vol. xi. pp. 406-408.

magne; and this form, with or without a tower on the back, has been retained by the modern Germans, Russians, and Danes.[t] The Spaniards, Italians, French, and English, in more recent times, adopted a tower or castle, as an epitome of the figure (in the same manner as they took a horse's head for the Knight) and hence arises the strange anomaly of a Castle representing the swiftest piece on the chess-board. But the earliest form offered to us in MSS. occurs in the Anglo-Norman poem, already quoted, of the 13th century,[u] and in the MS. of the Minnesingers; of nearly the same age,[x] in both of which instances it appears thus:

From the representation of the Turkish chess-men, in Dr. Hyde's work, p. 133, it clearly appears, that this form was first given to the Rook by the Arabs, who, as followers of Mahommed, rejected the figures allowed in the Persian game;[y] and from this circumstance it may probably lay claim, on the European chess-board, to equal antiquity with that of the Elephant. In the Latin poem of the twelfth century, so often referred to, we meet with the epithet of "Bifrons Rochus," which manifestly refers to the bi-parted head shewn above. The same shape is preserved on the ancient seals of those families, both in England and Germany, who bear Chess-Rooks for their arms. One instance of this I have been shewn by the kindness of our worthy Director, John Gage, Esq. attached to a deed, dated 37 Edward III. being a grant from Rosia, widow of John Saxi, of Stanefeld, co. Suffolk, to John de Rokewode and others. The seal is that of John de Rokewode,

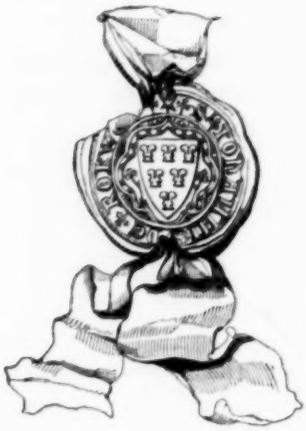
[t] The name of Tower in England is co-æval with that of Bishop, as is evident from Rowbotham's work, and was introduced apparently between the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. In Palsgrave's *Esclarcissement de la langue Francoyse*, fol. 1530, we only find "*Roke* of the chesse, roc," and "*Alfyn*, a man of ye chesse borde, aulfin." So late as the end of the seventeenth century, we read in Olyoke's Dictionary, fol. 1677, "*Rook* at chess, *Elephante*."

[u] MS. Cott. Cleop. B. ix. Strutt's Sports, pl. xxx.

[x] Willemin, "Monumens François," fol. and "Lays of the Minnesingers," 12mo. 1829.

[y] Sale's Prel. Disc. to the Koran, pp. 166-168.

bearing six Chess-Rooks, as exhibited beneath;[z] and this ancient form is shewn also on the font of Staningfield church, erected in the time of Henry VII. belonging to the Rookwoods,[a] and is still preserved by the representatives of this honourable family.



Various other examples of the chess-rook, as borne in the arms of English and foreign families,[b] may be seen in Randle Holme's unpublished portion of his "Academy of Armory," in MSS. Harl. 2033 and 5955, lib. iii. chap. 16, pl. 1, 2, and they will be found to be but slight variations from the earlier form, as given in MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and followed by Caxton, in his translation of the popular work of De Cessolis.

One more singularity remains to be noticed with respect to the Rook, and, as regards my theory, of greater importance. I allude to the figure of an armed soldier or *Warder*, presented to us by the chess-men I am describing. It is almost certain, that this form will be found in none of the descriptions of the game as played in the south of Europe, nor has it occurred in any MSS. I have had an opportunity of consulting. But among the Ice-

[z] Another impression of this seal, but broken, I find among the Harleian collection of Charters in the British Museum, 49 D. 37, attached to a Deed dated 1 Hen. V. On the same label is the seal of William Rokewode, bearing also six chess-rooks, but with an annulet for difference.

[a] Archæolog. xi. p. 406.

[b] In Mennel's treatise, 1507, the *Rach* or Rook is figured with four round or sharp corners, something in the shape of a flower, but these are only fanciful corruptions of the original form.

landers we find this piece actually so represented, and this is so remarkable a fact, that it will go some way, in my opinion, towards the proof of the locality of these pieces. La Peyrere, in a letter written from Copenhagen to M. La Mothe le Vayer, in 1644,[c] says: "The differences between the chess-men of the Icelanders and our own are these: Our *Fools* are with them *Bishops*, since they hold it right that the ecclesiastics should occupy the situation near the Kings. Their Rooks are little Captains, which the Icelandic scholars here call *Centurions*. They are represented with swords by their sides, and with puffed-out checks blowing a horn, which they hold in both hands." Without entering further at present into the peculiarities here noticed, it will be sufficient to observe, that the Icelandic term for this piece is *Hrókr*, which signifies a brave warrior or hero,[d] and is evidently intended to represent the original Eastern term given to this piece. What then is this term? are we with Sir William Jones to go to the Hindu *Roth'*, an armed chariot, or with Hyde to the Persian, *Ruch*, a dromedary, or with others, to the oriental name of the fabulous bird called *Ruch*, which makes a figure in the Tales of the Arabian Nights? My own conviction is, that all these derivations are false or doubtful, and that for the real meaning of the word, we must look to the ancient Persian *Rokh*, which, according to D'Herbelot, signifies a hero, or military adventurer.[e] Should this be correct, we must conclude that the Icelanders alone, of all the European nations, have preserved the genuine and original form of this piece, the antiquity of which, from the figures before us, will not admit of a doubt. Whether any trace of the same form is to be detected in the Cyclopean heroes of Vida, is left to the judgment of others. His lines are:

> "Extremis bini, referant qui vasta *Cyclopum*
> Corpora, considunt in sulcis, agmina utrinque
> Claudentes sua quisque, altis proque *arcibus* astant.[f]

[c] Published at Paris, 12mo. 1663. "La difference qu'il y a de leurs pièces aux nôtres, est, que nos *Fous* sont des *Evesques* parmy eux, et qu'ils tiennent que les Ecclesiastiques doivent estre près de la personne des Rois. Leurs *Rocs* sont de petits Capitaines, que les escoliers Islandois que sont icy apelent *Centurions*. Ils sont representez, l'espee au costé, les joues enflés, et sonnant du cor, qu'ils tienent des deux mains." p. 56.

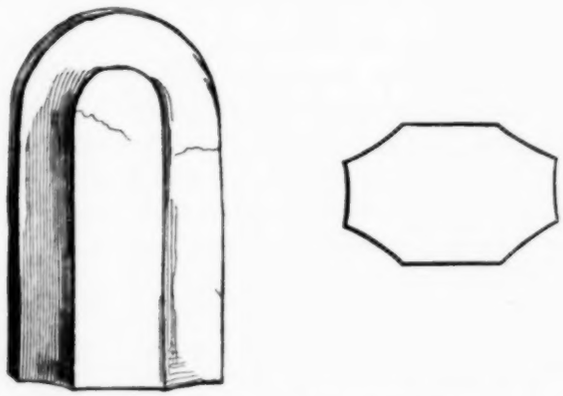
[d] *Hrókr*, vir fortis et grandis: *en stor og stark mand.* Longurio, latrunculorum satelles, *Brikke i Skakspil.* Haldorson. "*Hrókr*, gloriosus, thraso. In ludo latrunculorum *Skák* vulgo dicto, miles *hrókr* appellatur, elatus quippe superbusque." Index to the *Orkneyinga Saga.*

[e] "*Rokh.* Ce mot signifie dans la langue des anciens Persans un vaillant homme, qui cherche

But in the MS. already cited, in the possession of Mr. Gage, is a singular passage, which would seem to indicate similar figures to those mentioned by La Peyrere. The words are: "At the ends of the board stand the *Centurions*, which in English are called *Rooks*. These are soldiers of the reserved guard, and depended on as the bravest defenders of the Royal personage. Should the King be attacked, they immediately advance to meet the danger, and inclose the monarch, as it were within a citadel. They are placed, moreover, in the wings of the army, that they may guard least the enemy should fall upon the King in his rear." [g]

VI. The Pawns. These are of various shapes and sizes, but chiefly octagonal. Two of them are ornamented, but the rest plain.

In Pl. XLVIII. fig. 6, is engraved the largest, No. 1, and in the same plate, fig. 7, 8, are views of the two ornamented Pawns, Nos. 5 and 6, with the form of the base of each. On the reverse of either is a similar ornament, somewhat varied. Of the remaining Pawns, three (Nos. 2, 3, 4.) are nearly alike, and are represented beneath. They are octagonal, and the sides at the angles are hollowed or channelled out.

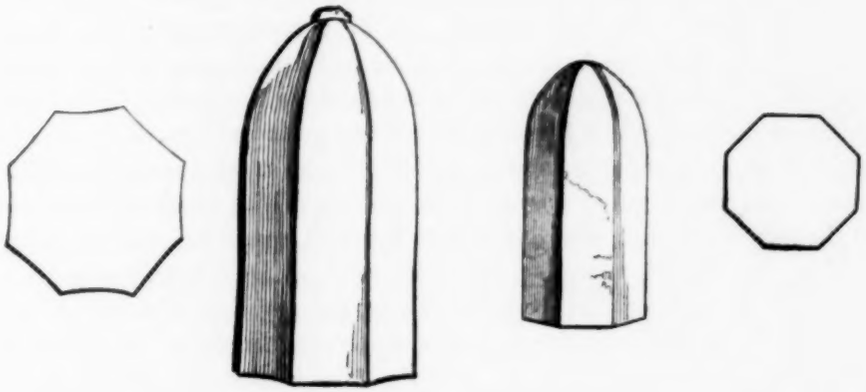


des avantures de guerre, un heros, et ce qu'on appelloit autrefois dans nos romans, un preux, et un chevalier errant. C'est d'où vient le nom de *Roch*, dans les Echecs, dont le jeu est venu de Perse jusques à nous." *Bibl. Orient.* tom. iii. p. 129. ed. 4to. La Haye, 1778. He then proceeds to cite some passages, in explaining which Dr. Hyde has made a great mistake. Cf. Shahilud. p. 120, 123.

[f] MS. Harl. 6518. f. 3.

[g] "In extremo agmine sunt *Centuriones*, Anglice *Rookes*. Sunt enim hii quasi milites triarii,

No. 7, is not so broad as the preceding, and is of a pyramidal shape of eight sides, similarly channelled, as shewn below. The rest, from No. 8 to 19, resemble it precisely, except that they vary in size, and have no knob at the top. The smallest of the whole is copied, by way of contrast to the larger. Several of these Pawns have originally been coloured *red.*



Having thus described in detail the whole of these curious figures, so as to afford the Society as complete a notion of them as can be learnt by ought short of ocular examination; and having hitherto considered them in connexion with the early history of the game of Chess in Europe, I shall now proceed to develope the result of my inquiries in respect to the place where, and the period when these chess-men were, in all probability, manufactured. I shall draw my inferences from three separate subjects of consideration; the material of which they are made, the costume in which they appear, and the historical passages to be found in the ancient writings of Scandinavia; and from each I shall endeavour to prove, that these pieces were executed about the middle of the twelfth century, by the same extraordinary race of people, who at an earlier period of time, uuder the general name of *North-*

fortissimaque Regis propugnacula. Si quando Rex periclitatur, locum mutant, seque periculo opponunt, Regem vero quasi in *arce* includunt. Collocantur enim in cornu exercitus, seu in extrema ala, ut prospiciant ne hostis a tergo Regem adoriatur." The Rook is also termed a *Duke* by Arthur Saul, in 1614.

men, overran the greater part of Europe, and whose language and manners are still preserved among their genuine descendants in Iceland.

And first, with regard to their material, it is assumed on evidence almost amounting to mathematical demonstration, that they are formed out of the tusks of the animal called in Icelandic ***Rostungr*** or ***Rosmar***, and in other parts of Europe by the names of Morse, Walrus, or Sea-horse.[h] These tusks grow from one to three feet in length, and in circumference at the lower end, from six to nine inches; but, according to Pennant, they are but rarely found of the largest size, except on the coasts of the Frozen Sea. The outer surface of the tusk, which is nearly of as fine a grain as ivory, does not exceed half an inch, and the interior is filled with an ossified secretion, which becomes very apparent on a longitudinal section of the tooth being made. At the root of the tusk, where it joins to the scull, appear cavities not wholly filled by this ossified substance, which are more or less hollow, probably according to the age of the animal.[i] These peculiarities of structure are shewn in a remarkable manner throughout the entire series of the chess-men before us, and most unequivocally so in the draught-men, which were necessarily cut transversely through the tusk.[k] We are able also to trace in them

[h] *Rosmarus*, Jonst. Pisc. t. 44. *Le Morse*, Buff. 13, p. 358. *Arctic Walrus*, Pennant, Quadr. 2. 266. *Trichechus Rosmarus*, Linn. p. 59. *Trichechus Walrus*, Shaw, vol. i. pt. i. p. 234, 4to. 1800.

[i] In the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons may be found various specimens of the tusk of this animal, together with a section of one, exhibiting the formation above described, and a skeleton of the animal itself. I have to express my thanks to Mr. Clift, Conservator of the Museum, for his obliging permission to examine these interesting specimens. The tusks of those Walruses which inhabit the icy coasts of the American continent are much longer, thinner, and far more sharp-pointed, and have a sub-spiral curvature towards the point (Shaw, vol. i. p. 234). One of this description, procured by Captain Beechey from the natives of Point Hope, in Beering's Straits, is in the British Museum. It measures 2½ feet long, by 5¼ inches in circumference at the root. Tusks are said to have been found in Kamschatka weighing from 20 to 40 lbs. *Gmelin*, iii. p. 164. See Crantz's Hist. of Greenland, i. p. 113, 4to. 1820. *Museum Wormianum*, fol. 1655, p. 289. *Museum Regium*, fol. pt. i. § III. 8, 9. ed. Lauerentzen. Einersens' Notes on the *Speculum Regale*, 4to. Soröe, 1768, p. 178, and Bussæus on the Periplus Ohtheri, § 5, 4to. Havn. 1733.

[k] A portion of the chess-men exhibit appearances distinct from the rest, and are of a lighter colour, and less heavy, and most of them are fractured. From these circumstances, and from the bone being adhesive to the tongue, it has been suggested that these figures are in a fossil state. Whether this fossilisation took place before or after the pieces were worked is a curious subject of inquiry to the naturalist.

the economy of the artist in fashioning his figures according to the portions of the teeth best calculated to serve his purpose. The pieces of largest circumference are almost wholly cut from that part of the tusk nearest the scull, and exhibit the cavities in various states. In one instance, No. 6 of the Knights, the right front leg of the horse has been broken off, owing to the thinness of the bone at this part. The Bishops and Warders[l] are chiefly cut either from the middle or end of the teeth. In Plate XLVIII. fig. 1, this interior ossified substance may be easily discerned making its appearance on the head of the figure, and forming the apex of its helmet. These animals at present are chiefly found within the arctic circle, between Davis's Straits and Nova Zembla, and but rarely venture into a more southern latitude than the Gulph of St. Lawrence, between lat. 47-48. In the Add. MSS. of the British Museum, No. 5261, fol. 167, is a spirited drawing by Albert Durer of the head of a Morse, stated to have been taken in the Zuyder Zee, in the year 1521. Walruses are met with also in great numbers on the coasts of Spitsbergen[m] and Greenland, and are wafted on the ice from thence to Iceland.[n] Pennant speaks doubtfully respecting the latter place, and remarks that they rarely appeared in his time in the seas of Norway,[o] but in ancient times were so numerous in the northern parts, as to become objects of chase.

[l] No. 4 of the Warders is a singular instance among these chess-men of a piece cut from a whale's tooth, and exhibits a different internal structure of an oval shape.

[m] Shaw, p. 235.

[n] In the voyages made by Stephen Bennet in 1603 and succeeding years (which were the origin of the English whale fishery), they found the Walruses in such numbers on Cherry Island, lying between the North Cape and Spitsbergen, that they killed from 700 to 1000 of them in six or seven hours. See Purchas, iii. 560, 565. Pennant, i. p. lxxxi.

[o] Foster, in his notes on the Saxon Orosius, says, "in all the ocean near Norway and Lapland no Walruses are ever seen, still less in the Baltic." p. 243. The former part of this assertion is not, perhaps, to be received literally. Arngrim Jonas, in his account of Greenland, published in Icelandic, 4to. Skalholt, 1688, after describing the Rostungr, says of it, "This animal is common both to Greenland and *Iceland*." cap. 2. A Latin inedited translation of his work is in MSS. Add. 5207. So also Pontoppidan writes: "The Valrus or Rosmul, and in our old Norwegian, Rostungr, Rosmar, the Walrus or Sea-horse, is seen *sometimes* on this coast, but not so frequently as about *Iceland* or Spitsbergen, where, according to Marten's Travels, ch. iv. they are found in incredible numbers." Nat. Hist. Norway, fol. Lond. 1755, p. 257.

In the reign of King Alfred, about A. D. 890, Ohtere, the Norwegian, visited England, and gave an account to the king of his voyage in pursuit of these animals, chiefly on account of their teeth, which were even at that remote period esteemed of considerable value. His simple narrative is inserted by the monarch in the Saxon translation of Orosius, and has been illustrated by the notes of Foster.[p] Ohtere sailed from Heligoland, the most northern point of Norway (N. lat. 65), and in three days arrived at the extreme limit frequented by the whale-fishers. He proceeded onwards three days more, doubled the North Cape, and entered the Cwen Sea, or White Sea, the coasts of which were inhabited on the one side by the Scrick-finnas, or Laplanders, and on the other by the Beormas. He here found the walrus, which was the principal object of his voyage, as he himself related to Alfred. "He went the rather," says the royal historian, "and shaped his course to each of these countries, on account of the *horse-whales*, because they have very excellent bone in their teeth; some of which he brought to the king; and their hides are very good for ship-ropes."[q] The estimation in which these teeth were held by the northern nations, rendered them a present worthy of royalty, and this circumstance is confirmed by a tradition preserved in the curious Saga of Kröka Ref, or Kröka the Crafty, who lived in the tenth century.[r] It is there related, that Gunner, Prefect of Greenland, wishing to conciliate the favour of Harald Hardraad,[s] King of Norway [A. D. 1046-1067], by the advice of Barder, a Norwegian merchant, sent to the King three the most precious gifts the island could pro-

p Ed. Barrington, 8vo. Lond. 1773.

q Spriðorþ he þoþ ðýþep. to eacan þæþ landeþ þceapunge. þoþ þæm hopþ hpælum. þoþ þæm hi habbaþ þþýðe æðele ban on hýpa toðum. þa teð hý bpoton þume þæm cýninge. & hýpa hýþ hiþ þþiðe goþ to þcip papum. p. 22. These ropes were called by the Norwegians *Svardreip*. See Spec. Reg. p. 178, n. and Arn. Jonæ Gronlandia, cap. 2.

r Supposed by Molbech to have been composed at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. *Sagabibliothek*, vol. i. p. 357. It is printed in the 8vo collection of Marcusson, 1756, pp. 35-68, and the substance of it forms a considerable portion of Arngr. Jonas's Description of Greenland, 4to. Skalh. 1688. See also the examination of this narrative by Torfæus, in his Gronlandia Antiqua, cap. 25, 8vo. Havn. 1706.

s Thorkelin is mistaken in considering this to be Harald Harfager, who died in 936. Twiss, ii. p. 176. In the Saga he is expressly called *Sigurds-son*.

duce. These were, 1. a full-grown tame white bear; 2. a *chess-table*, or set of *chess-men*, exquisitely carved; 3. a scull of the *Rostungr*, with the teeth fastened in it, wonderfully sculptured, and ornamented with gold.[t] I shall revert again to this passage before this Paper is concluded, and introduce it here only to illustrate the presents made by Ohtere to King Alfred, which, it must be confessed, fall short of those sent to the monarch of Norway.

The author of the *Kongs-Skugg-sio*, or Speculum Regale, composed, as Einersen concludes, between the years 1154-1164, but certainly before the close of the century, takes particular notice of the Rostungr, and mentions also the circumstance of its teeth and hide being used as articles of commerce.[u] In the sixteenth century, Richard Chancellor enumerates the teeth of the Morse among the articles of traffic in Russia, and the price of a tusk was then estimated at a ruble.[x] Olaus Magnus, the worthy Archbishop of Upsala, who wrote somewhat earlier, and who derives the name of Morse, "ab asperitate mordendi," tells us that these animals were taken chiefly on account of their teeth, which are held in the highest estimation by the Moscovites, and neighbouring nations, who, from the whiteness and durability of the grain, formed them into sword-handles.[y] So

[t] "Guñar sendi Haralldi Konge 3. gripe, þad var, Hvijta Biorn fulltijda, og aagiæta vel vaniñ; saa añar gripur var *Tañ-Tabl*, og geordt med miklum hagleik; þridie var Rostungs haus, med öllum toñum sijnum, hañ var allur grafiñ, og vijda rendt i gulle. Toñur voru fastar i hausnum; var þad allt hin mesta gersemi." In the Latin translation of Arngrim Jonas's Description of Greenland, MS. Add. 5207, p. 59. the passage is thus rendered: "Gunnerus igitur Norvego hæc tria officii gratia mittebat, 1. Ursum cicurem colore niveo; 2. *Scachiam* seu *latrunculos ad ludum scachiæ pertinentes*, ex balænarum dentibus arte formatos; 3. integrum caput vituli seu canis marini (Rostungr) sculptoria arte mirificè ornatum, cui adhuc dentes infixi erant." Professor Thorkelin also considered the term *Tan-Tabl* in the sense of "Chess-men made of teeth of the Morse." See Twiss on Chess, vol. ii. p. 175.

[u] See Spec. Reg. 4to. Soröe, 1768, p. 178, with the authorities cited by Einersen, in his note.

[x] Hakluyt, i. 237, 280. At present the ivory-turners in London ask from 4s. to 20s. a pound for these tusks.

[y] —— "Maximè propter dentes, qui pretiosi sunt apud Scythos, Moschos scilicet et Ruthenosve Tartaros (uti ebur apud Indos) ob duritiem, candorem, et gravitatem, quâ de causâ etiam framearum manubriis artificum, excellenti industria accedente, adaptantur." Hist. Gent. Sept. lib. xxi. cap. 28. p. 789, ed. fol. 1567. (The work was written in 1555.)

also in the Description of Greenland by Arngrim Jonas, we are told that the teeth and hides of the Rostungr formed a chief object of commerce with Norway and Denmark; and there is reason to believe that this species of barter was not confined to the Baltic, but extended to the British Islands. The author of the description of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, writes "Auro cariores olim dentes hîc exstitêre. *Britanni* quippe et *Hiberni* scribuntur capulos gladiorum suorum non auro, non argento, non ebore exornasse, sed dentibus his. Unde Solinus, c. 22. 'Qui student cultui, dentibus mari nantium belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos; candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem.'"[z]

The ancient Norwegians, and more particularly the natives of Iceland, seem to have been, at a very early period, famous for their skill in carving various figures and implements in bone, and this talent was exerted chiefly in sculpturing chess-men from the tusks of the Rosmar. The passage already quoted from Kröka Ref's Saga might easily authorise such an inference, but we have more express testimony on the subject. The archbishop of Upsala, in his antiquarian history of the northern nations, tells us, that it was usual amongst them to cut the teeth of the morse in the most artificial manner, for the purpose of making chess-men, with which game all the people of the north were well acquainted, but more especially their princes and men of rank.[a] And a century later, Olaus Wormius, in describing the contents of his museum, says of the Rosmar, "Out of its teeth various articles are made, such as rings against the cramp, handles of swords, javelins, and knives, because the weight of the material renders a blow from the weapon of greater force. On this account, these teeth are sent to the Turks and Tartars in traffic, by whom they are eagerly sought after. The Icelanders cut out of them very skilfully the figures used in the game of *chess*."[b] And in another passage, he writes:—"The Icelanders, who are

[z] Pt. ii. §. III. 9.

[a] "Morsorum sive Rosmarorum dentibus valde artificiose elaborantur in usum ludi Latrunculorum seu Schachorum, quo mire et ingeniose utuntur omnes populi Septentrionales, maxime principes et clarissimi viri." Lib. 21, cap. 29.

[b] "Ex ejus dentibus varia conficiunt, annulos contra spasmum, manubria gladiorum, framearum

of an ingenious turn of mind, are accustomed, during the long nights of winter, to cut out, by their fire-side, various articles from whales' teeth. This is more particularly the case in regard to *chess-men* (at which game they excell); and I possess some specimens of these, distinguished by being of two colours, white and green, which are sculptured so exquisitely, that each piece expresses in features, dress, and attitude, the personage it is designed to represent."[e]

I think, therefore, from the preceding passages, we may infer, with considerable probability, that the chess-men discovered in the island of Lewis were sculptured by the same people among whom the material, of which they are formed, is found; and who are known, moreover, from an indefinite period of time, to have excelled in the art of cutting out similar figures, and to have been adepts in the game for which such figures were intended. But since objections might arise, on the supposition that the material, although

et cultrorum, quoniam pondere suo ictus fortiores ut fiant, juvant; quo nomine ad Tartaros et Turcas mittunt, à quibus expetuntur. *Islandi icunculos ex iis affabre conficiunt, quibus in ludo Scacchico utuntur.*"—Museum Wormianum, fol. 1655, p. 290. In the Royal Museum at Copenhagen is preserved (amongst many other specimens) a groupe of figures, three inches in height, cut out of a tusk of the walrus, representing a king on horseback, holding a crescent-shaped shield. By his side stands a figure armed with a bow and spear; and behind the horse is another, with a long sword, and blowing a horn. Two other figures are introduced, one of which holds the king's stirrup, and the other bears on his left arm a long oval shield, which extends from the head to the knees, and in his right a sword. Such figures, says Jacobs, made from the teeth of the Rosmar, are by no means uncommon.—*Museum Regium*, pt. ii. § III. 81; *Mus. Worm.* p. 380. I regret no engraving should have been given of this curious groupe, for the purpose of comparison with the chess-men in the Museum.

[e] Islandi hyeme, cum noctes sunt longiores, ingeniosi cum sint, ex dentibus balænarum [Rosmarorum] ad focum varia conficere solent. In primis *ludi Scachici* (in quo excellunt) latrunculos. Quorum aliquot mihi specimina, viridi et albo colore distincta, quæ ita sunt sculpta, ut quisque suum officium habitu, vestitu, et lineamentis perpulchre exprimat."—Mus. Worm. p. 377. Among the Correspondence of Wormius, published in two volumes, 8vo. Hafn. 1751, are some verses from Magnus Olavius to him, dated 6 cal. Sept. 1627, sent, together with a present of some chess-men, from Iceland, vol. i. p. 356; and in a letter from Stephanus Olavius, dat. Kyrkebæ in Islandia, 15 Sept. 1648, he says he has sent him a snuff-box, cut by a young Icelander, "ex dente balænæ," and adds, "Hic juvenis pleraque artificiosa quæ oculis usurpat, imitatur, ipse sibi magister: in primis vero *latrunculos Scacchidis* affabre format, et mediocri pretio vendat." Vol. ii. p. 1072.

supplied by the Norwegians, might yet have been sculptured in another part of Europe, it will be requisite to strengthen the conclusion I have drawn, by an examination of the costume which these chess-men present to us.

To those not interested in the early history of the game, perhaps this may appear the most attractive point of view in which they can be placed, as exhibiting distinct examples of the dress of various orders of society in the twelfth century, to which period they have been unanimously assigned by the voice of many very competent judges. And although we concede, which I am by no means disposed to do, that these pieces are the work of a more recent age, in imitation of earlier prototypes, yet even then their value remains the same, in regard to the costume they illustrate.

It is unfortunate for the subject of our inquiry, that the ancient monuments of Scandinavia, whether regarded as works of art, sepulchral effigies, or MSS., do not exist in sufficient numbers to enable us to decide positively on the identity of character presented in the figures under review; and it is in some measure from negative evidence we are obliged to argue. The general dress of these pieces was common in the twelfth century to most of the European nations, and in the cases of the king, queen, and bishop, had scarcely undergone any change for several centuries previous; so that it will only be necessary to select such portions of the costume as may seem to require illustration, or which more particularly serve to point out a northern original.

The first peculiarity which arrests our attention in looking at the figures before us, is the singular manner in which the hair of the kings is plaited in long wreaths over their shoulders. All the nations of Gothic origin seem to have agreed in encouraging the growth of their hair and beard, but they varied from each other as well in the mode of wearing it, as in the care bestowed on its appearance. We learn from Tacitus, that it was peculiar to the Suevi, the most numerous of all the Teutonic tribes, to wreath their hair, and fasten it in a knot. Other nations, he adds, imitated them, but only those among them who had not passed their manhood, whereas among the Suevi, even to the time their locks became grey; they were accustomed to twist a mass of hair at the back of the head, and often bound it up to the top. Their princes wore it more ornamented, and only the men of free

condition had the privilege of cultivating it.[d] Hence their chiefs in the time of Theodoric, were addressed, as a mark of respect, by the term 'hairy.'[e] The mode adopted by Theodoric himself is minutely described by Sidonius, in an Epistle to Agricola, and is too curious to be omitted. He says, that the hair of the king's head was cut round at the top, and curled upwards from the forehead, whilst over his ears, according to the fashion of his country, it hung in twisted wreaths. His beard was suffered to grow thickly around the border of his face, but not a hair permitted to encroach on the cheek, and to preserve this fashion entire, the barber of the royal person attended every morning, to pluck out with his pincers any stragglers that might have risen within the proscribed limit.[f] The same mode of wearing the beard prevailed in the twelfth century at the court of Norway, as we learn from the author of the *Speculum Regale*, who had himself, when younger, adopted it, and who seems to regret that a practice less elegant had been subsequently introduced.[g] A modern

[d] "Insigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi à cæteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui à servis, separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliquâ Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum, et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos, usque ad canitiem, horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in solo vertice religant: principes et ornatiorem habent." Germania, cap. 38.

[e] "Universis provincialibus et *capillatis*." Theodorici Ep. ap. Cassidor. lib. 4, 49. Cf. Edict. c. 195. So also Jornandes tells us, that Diceneus Boroista gave to the clergy the name of *pileati*, from the caps they wore—"reliquam vero gentem *capillatos* dicere jussit, quod nomen Gothi pro magno suscipientes adhuc suis cantionibus reminiscuntur." *De reb. Geticis*, cap. xi. p. 38. 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1597.

[f] "Capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum [in patulam *al.*] à planitie frontis in verticem cæsaries refuga crispatur. Geminos orbes hispidus superciliorum coronat arcus.—Aurium ligulæ, sicut mos gentis est, crinium superjacentium flagellis operiuntur.—Pilis infra narium antra fruticantibus quotidiana succisio, barba concavis hirta temporibus, quam in subditâ vultus parte surgentem, stirpitus tonsor assiduus genas ad usque, forficibus evellit." Epp. l. 1, 2. Ed. 4to. Par. 1609. Cf. Hist. Wilkinensium, cap. 14, fol. Stockh. 1715.

[g] P. 287, he says also, that the hair was cut round, among the courtiers, so as only to reach the ears, except in front, where it grew long; and no moustaches were worn. Of the German Goths Diodorus writes thus: "Some shave their beards, but others keep them of a moderate length. The nobles, indeed, shave their cheeks, and suffer their moustaches to grow so long that they cover the mouth."

exclusive, therefore, either of London or Paris, when the duties of his toilette are completed, little suspects that he has so respectable an authority for the style of his whiskers as Theodoric the Visi-Goth!

Sperlingius, in his inedited collections towards the illustration of northern customs and manners,[h] suspects, with great probability, that from the above passage of Sidonius may be cleared up the doubtful expression of Isidorus, when he says "Some nations adopt personal marks peculiar to themselves, as we see exhibited in the *cirros* of the Germans, the *granos* and *cinnabar* of the Goths."[i] The former term he thinks derived from the Goth. *gran* a pine-tree, since the long twisted locks of hair called *granr* resembled, in some measure, the sweeping branches of a pine, whilst by *cinnabar*, from the Goth. *kinna*, the cheek, and *bar*, bare, was denoted the mode of shaving the sides of the face,[k] *q. d.* bare-cheek.

The old German mode of wearing the hair was carried by the Franks into Gaul, and Agathias thus characterises them: "It is the custom among the Franks," he writes, "for the kings never to have their hair cut, but to nourish it from their childhood, and suffer it to spread over their shoulders and forehead; not in a squalid and negligent fashion, like the Avars, but carefully combed out, and cleaned with various medicaments. This is with them a special mark of royalty, and not permitted to the inferior classes."[l] It cannot fail to be remarked how well this agrees with

[h] MS. Add. 5184, ff. 27 b., 149, 150. Savary, the Editor of Sidonius, coincides in the above opinion.

[i] "Nonnullæ gentes non solum in vestibus, sed et in corpore aliqua sibi propria quasi insignia vendicant, ut videmus *cirros* Germanorum, *granos* et *cinnabar* Gothorum." Orig. l. 19, c. 23.

[k] By *granos* or *granr*, Vossius, Du Cange, Sicama, and others, understand moustaches. This seems to be strengthened by the modern use of the Isl. *gran*, and Belg. *graenan*. But, as appears from Verelius, it also signified the beard, and hence Odin is called *Hrosharsgrani*, from his having a beard (or as others say, a pair of moustaches) like the hair of a horse's tail. By a canon of the Gothic council of Braga, no reader in the church was allowed to wear *granos*; and by the ancient laws of Frisia, tit. 22, c. 16, 17, he who cut off an eye-brow or a *grano*, was to pay two solidi. Hence also the epithet of *Grannus* given to Apollo, from his long locks of hair. See Wachter and Ihre, who offer other derivations of the word. Loccenius agrees nearly with Sperlingius in the interpretation of *cinnabar*. Cf. Verel. in v. *Graun*.

[l] "Πηρηώρηνται αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες εὖ μάλα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οἱ πλόκαμοι. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἐμπρόσθιοι ἐκ τοῦ

the figures of the chess Kings before us, as compared with the Knights and Warders. The effigies also of the Frankish sovereigns, exhibited in Montfaucon,[m] present examples of the plaited locks of hair precisely like those before us, and this is more particularly the case in the singular monument of Duke Eticho, towards the close of the seventh century, where the wreaths of hair are seen to fall down on the shoulders very distinctly.[n] Whether this fashion was borrowed by the Norwegians from the Franks, may admit of a question; but it is remarkable how few specimens of the sort are to be traced elsewhere. Olaus Magnus says expressly, that the custom of the Danes and Norwegians, like that of the Goths and Suevi, was to let their hair flow over their shoulders, but to confine it by bands when they went to battle.[o] He adds, that they curled and poured precious ointments on it; an assertion Sperlingius will not admit, since the only ointment, he declares, these old heroes possessed was butter, and the mode of dressing their hair was by washing it, not with perfumes, but water, and drying it in the sun. Harald *Harfager*, who ascended the throne of Norway, about A. D. 866, derived his name from the length and beauty of his hair, which is said to have flowed down in thick ringlets to his girdle, and to have been like golden or silken threads.[p]

The Northmen, after their settlement in Neustria, abandoned this custom, and at the time of their invasion of England had wholly discontinued the use of long hair, beard, or moustaches. Hence they were described to Harold by his spies as an army of priests, rather than of warriors; and on William's return to the Continent, accompanied by several of the Saxons,

μετώπου σχιζόμενοι, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέρονται. Lib. i. p. 14, Ed. Par. fol. 1660. So, in Gregory of Tours, lib. 6, c. 24, we read, "Ut regum istorum moris est crinium flagellis per terga dimissis."

[m] Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise, vol. i. pl. 8, 17. Willemin, Monumens Francois. These statues are assigned by the former to the sixth century, but, more probably, by Willemin, to the tenth. The ancient models, however, have doubtless been preserved.

[n] Montf. pl. 31. Maillot, iii. 32.

[o] "Sed alia coma erat Septentrionalium Danorum, Norvegorum, Gothorum et Sueonum, quorum crines dorsum flagellabant, ita ut vinculis coerceri deberent, cum ad pugnas aut prælia pergerent." L. 8, c. 14, p. 208. Sperlingii Collectanea, MSS. Add. 5184, f. 134.

[p] Torf. Hist. Norv. lib. i. cap. 13.

the courtiers of Normandy are said to heve been surprised at the appearance of the "crinigeros Angliæ alumnos."[q] But towards the end of the eleventh century the ancient mode was resumed, and carried to such an excess as to call down the censures of the church. Ordericus Vitalis tells us that they curled their long locks like women, and the whole nation, what with their bushy heads and long beards, resembled stinking goats more than christians.[r] In 1095 a decree was passed by the council of Rouen against it, but without effect; for in 1104, Serlo, Bishop of Seez, in Normandy, publicly inveighed against this fashion before Henry I. of England, and when he had finished his discourse, the historian informs us, he took a pair of scissors from his sleeve, and, with Henry's consent, cut off the locks of the king and all his nobles. Their example was followed by the meaner attendants, and the ringlets just before prized so highly, says the monk, were trodden under foot, like the vilest refuse.[s] This custom, however, of plaiting the hair in long wreaths was certainly preserved in France in the twelfth century, as is apparent from the curious illuminations prefixed to the French Psalter of that period in MS. Cott. Nero, c. iv. where it is very visible, and in f. 4, 6, we have an instance of the tri-furcated beard, as seen in the Knight, No. 2, of the chess-men. The same mode was carried by the Northmen into Sicily, as appears from the poem of Petrus D'Ebulo, composed in the year 1196, the original MS. of which, preserved in the public library of Basle, offers to us the figure of Roger, Count of Andria, with his hair similarly disposed.[t] The Norwegians retained the ancient mode of their forefathers, and there is perhaps no other similar illustration extant which so completely shews the peculiarity thus maintained, as the chess Kings we are describing.

[q] Ord. Vital. l. 8, p. 507. ap. Du Chesne.

[r] "Barbaricum morem in habitu et ritu tenebant. Nam capillos à vertice in frontem discriminabant, longos crines velut mulieres nutriebant et summopere curabant.—Sincipite scalceati sunt ut fures, occipite autem prolixas nutriunt comas, ut meretrices. Crispant crines calamistro.—Nunc pæne universi populares criniti sunt et barbatuli." Ib. l. 8, p. 682.

[s] "Amicam dudum cæsariem ut viles quisquilias pedibus conculcarunt." Ord. Vital. l. 11, p. 816. See also Mailliot, vol. iii. p. 73.

[t] Petri D'Ebulo de Motibus Siculis, 4to. Bas. 1746.

I have but few remarks to make on the dress of the Bishops, which is almost the same as in the 10th century, but the forms of the crosses on the back of their chasubles will not fail to be noticed by those versed in early ecclesiastical costume. The habits here presented to us may be compared with those delineated on the seals of Stephen, A. D. 1162—1185, and of Olaus I., A. D. 1198—1200, archbishops of Upsala;[u] and also with the ornaments of Absalon, archbishop of Lunden and primate of Sweden, A. D. 1178—1202, preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen.[x] The mitre and crosier of the latter will be found to agree very exactly with those of the chess-men. The former, we are told, was called by the Norwegians *Biscops-Lue*, with which the prelates were invested by the Pope, from the time of Sergius, A. D. 845.[y] The crosier is made of the horn of the narwal, and measures four feet and a half in length. This material was very generally employed for such a purpose in the north, and succeeded the wooden crosiers used at an earlier period.[z] Among the archbishop's ornaments is also a zone of leather, about the width of an inch, and fastened by a buckle made of bone, with a figure carved on it.[a] Such belts were worn both by the laics and clergy; and were sometimes ornamented with laminæ of bone. Wormius mentions such a one in his possession, made of silk, with square pieces of bone attached, cut out of the teeth of the walrus, one of which formed the fibula, which had a silver tongue *(toorn)*. He be-

[u] Monumenta Ullerakerensia à Peringskiold, fol. 1719. pp. 129, 130. The monument of Henry, Bishop of Upsal, A. D. 1148—1157, in which he is represented with a tall mitre and crosier, elaborately ornamented, is evidently of a later period; as are also the paintings around the tomb of King Eric, in the cathedral at Upsal. See Peringskiold, *Attalar för Swea och Götha Konunga Hus*, fol. Stockh. 1725; *Monumenta Ullerakerensia*, p. 48; and *Monumenta Sueo-Gothica*, fol. 1710, pp. 185, 191, 203. The Frankish bishops at the end of the seventh century wore beards, as appears from the figure of S. Leger, Bishop of Autun, ap. Montf. i. pl. 31; and from Sidonius, Ep. 24. In the twelfth century they are also thus represented. See MS. Cott. Nero, c. iv; and Strutt's Dresses, vol. i. pl. 25.

[x] Museum Regium, pt. ii. § III. 1—13. Ed. Lauerentzen.

[y] Huitfeldii Chron. Dan. pp. 25, 26.

[z] Mus. Reg. pt. ii. § III. 3. Archbishop Absolon also used a crosier of gilt copper, ornamented with a border, but this is not of so ancient a character as the former.

[a] Ib. 12. It is engraved, Tab. 1. 12.

lieves this to have been worn as a remedy against the cramp or cholic.[b] These notices may serve to illustrate the curious buckle discovered together with these chess-men, and engraved in Pl. XLVIII. fig. 9, the workmanship of which is peculiarly elegant. The tongue turns on a copper wire, inserted through the bone, and is, even at present, quite flexible.

The figures of the Knights and Warders present very curious examples of the military costume of the twelfth century; and it will be necessary to enter a little diffusely into the history of the armour, both offensive and defensive, used by the nations of the north, in order to show that these chess-pieces answer very well to the descriptions given by historical authorities. The warlike propensities of all the children of Odin's race are too well known, from their conquests, to be dwelt on here. In very early times their weapons probably consisted only of an axe, a sword, or a spear; and the helmet or coat of mail was but rarely used, and only by the highest in rank among them. Such is the account given us of the Franks by Agathias in the sixth century,[c] and it will equally apply to any other branches of the Gothic tree. But the constant warfare in which these people were engaged, and the communication opened to them with the Romans, and subsequently, with the Eastern World, by degrees caused the same means of defence to be adopted in battle, as used by more polished nations. Olaus Magnus speaks thus in general terms of the early armour in use amongst them. "Anciently," says he, "they wore heavy helmets, rudely fashioned, according to the art of the age, and thick tunics, made either of iron, leather, or felt, lined with linen and wool; also iron pieces for the arms, and gloves; they carried in their hands massive spears."[d] But in the 12th century various notices are to be gleaned from contemporary writers which enable us to judge more accurately of the several parts of their armour. Thus, in the ancient Laws of Helsingia, whoever had attained the age of eighteen, was obliged to possess five sorts of warlike

[b] Mus. Worm. p. 377.

[c] Lib. i. p. 40.

[d] "Habebant olim cassides graves, non satis politâ manu juxta rudem illam ætatem fabricatas, præterea thoraces spissos, partim ferreos, partim coriaceos, partim filtrinos, lino lanaque consuta; simili modo brachialia ferrea et manuum chirothecas. Ferebant et densas hastas."—p. 236.

equipment, viz. a sword *(suerd)*, or axe *(oxe)*, a helmet or iron hat *(jernhatt)*, a shield *(skiöld)*, a tunic of mail *(bryniu)*, or a wambais *(musu)*. So also by the Laws of Gula, said to have been originally established by King Hacon the Good, in 940, whoever possessed the sum of six marks, besides his clothes, was required to furnish himself with a red shield of two boards in thickness *(skiöld raud tuibyrding)*, a spear *(spiot)*, an axe *(oxi)*, or a sword; he who was worth twelve marks, in addition to the above was ordered to procure a steel cap *(stál-hufu)*; whilst he who was worth eighteen marks, was obliged to have a double red shield, a helmet, a coat of mail, or gambeson, *(bryniu* or *panzar,)* and all usual military weapons *(folkvopn)*.[e] In such a state of society it may easily be inferred that the utmost attention was paid to the fabrication of various species of armour, for which the natural product of the mines in Norway and Sweden yielded such facilities, and hence the well known stories of the smith Veland *(Volundr)*, and of the *Duergar*, who forged weapons for the heroes in the recesses of the earth, or in *Valhalla*.[f] Hence also the numerous poetical epithets occurring in the Scaldic poems of the different parts of a warrior's dress,[g] and the frequent descriptions of armour introduced into Snorre Sturleson, and the Sagas.

In the history of King Hacon the Good, [A. D. 937—963,] surnamed *Adelstein's Fostra*, from having been brought up in the court of King Athelstan of England, we read, cap. 28, "The King put on a tunic of mail *(brynio)*; girded round him his sword called *Kuernbit* (mill-stone-biter), and set on his head his gilded helmet *(hialm gullrodinn)*. He took

[e] V. Reenhielm's notes to *Thorstens Viikings-sons Saga*, cap. x. p. 78. 12mo. Lips. 1680, and compare with the similar Laws passed by Henry II. ap. Hoveden, sub. a°. 1181, p. 614. Ed. Francof. 1601. Previous to the introduction of christianity the people of the North, like the Germans, always carried arms about with them. But these manners were subsequently so changed, that among the Icelanders, about A. D. 1139, we read the security was such, that men no longer went with weapons to a public meeting, and scarcely more than a single helmet could be seen at a judicial assemblage. *Kristendom's Saga*, c. 14, 8vo. Hafn. 1773.

[f] Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. pp. 569, 570, 4to. Hafn. 1689.

[g] Compare Thorkelin's Index to Beowulf, (9th cent.) sub vv. *Arma, Clipeus, Galea, Gladius, Hasta, Lorica, Securis, Telum.*

a spear *(kesio)* in his hand, and hung his shield *(sciölld)* by his side."[h] So, also, in describing the battle of Sticklastad, where King Olaf of Norway, called the ***Saint***, was slain, A. D. 1030: "Olaf was armed in the following manner: he wore a golden helmet *(hiallm gullrodinn)*; in one hand he bore a white shield *(hvitann skiölld)*, and in the other a spear *(kesio)*, which is now preserved at the Temple of Christ (at Nidros). Around him was girded his sword called ***Hneytir***, the hilt of which was of gold, and the edge exceedingly trenchant. On his body he had a tunic of ring-mail *(hringa-brynio)*."[i] And in Magnus Barfot's Saga, cap. 26, on the eve of the fatal contest in Ulster, where the monarch was killed, and his army defeated by the Irish, A. D. 1103, Snorre tells us, "the King was armed with a helmet *(hialm)*, and a red shield *(raudan skiölld)*, on which was depicted a golden lion. He was gird with a most sharp sword called ***Leggbitr***, the hilt of which was made of the tooth of the Rosmar,[k] and ornamented with gold. He held a spear *(kesio)*, in his hand, and over his tunic *(skyrto)*, he had a surcoat of red silk *(silki-hiup raudan)*, bearing before and behind the image of a lion, in gold."[l] Nearly similar to this is a passage in King Sverrer's Saga, [A. D. 1177-1202,] cap. 163, written by Charles, Abbot of Thingore, in Iceland, and others, from the narrative of the King himself, where Sverrer's armour is thus described: "He was habited in a good tunic of mail *(bryniu)*,[m] above it a strong gambeson *(panzara)*, and over all a red surcoat *(raudan hiup)*;[n] with these he wore a wide helmet of steel *(vida stálhufu)*, similar to those worn by the Germans; and beneath it a mail cap *(brynkollu)*,[o] and a linen hood *(panzara-hufu)*. By his side hung a sword, and a spear *(kesiu)*[p] was in his hand."[q] But

[h] Heimskringla, i. 155, Ed. Schöning. [i] Ib. ii. 352.

[k] Rothe, de Gladiis Veterum, imprimis Danorum, p. 28, 12mo. Havn. 1752. Note of Bussæus on the Periplus Ohteri, §. 5, ad calc. *Arii Sched.* 4to. Havn. 1733.

[l] Ib. iii. 227.

[m] Other copies read *harnisk*, which is synonymous with *brynio* in Spec. Reg. p. 405.

[n] In other copies it is added that the King's arms were on his surcoat (*vaaben-kappe*). See note to Spec. Reg. p. 402.

[o] Al. *kalot*, a leather cap. [p] Al. *spyd*.

[q] Noregs Konunga Sögor, iv. 298, fol. 1813.

as the testimony of Snorre in three of the above passages may be impugned, on the plea that his history was composed at a later date than the period referred to,[r] and, therefore, his descriptions are taken from the mode of his own time, I shall produce two other authorities less liable to be called in doubt; the author of the *Kongs-Skugg-sio*, or Speculum Regale, who certainly wrote in the latter half of the 12th century, and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness of the transactions of the Danes in Ireland, between the years 1170-1180. The former, in his directions to his son concerning military exercises and choice of weapons, bids him when combating on foot, to wear his heavy armour, to wit, a tunic of mail *(brynio)*, or thick gambeson *(thungann pannzara)*, a strong shield *(skiöld)* or buckler *(buklara)*, and a heavy sword *(sverd)*.[s] In naval actions he says the best weapons are long spears, and for defence, gambesons *(panzarar)* made of soft and well dyed linen cloth *(af blautum lereptum ok vel svartadum)*, together with good helmets *(hialmar)*, pendant steel caps *(hangandi stálhufur)*, and broad shields.[t] His directions for a knight's equipment is more minute, and is worthy particular attention, as illustrative of our subject: "Let the horseman," he writes, "use this dress; first, hose made of soft and well prepared linen cloth, which should reach to the breeches belt *(broka-belltis)*; then above them good greaves of mail *(brynhosur)*, of such a height that they may be fastened with a double string. Next, let him put on a good pair of breeches *(bryn-brækur)*, made of strong linen, on which must be fastened caps for the knees *(knebiargir)*, made of thick iron, and fixed with strong nails. The upper part of the body should first be clothed in a soft linen vest *(blautann panzara)*, which should hang to the middle of the thigh; over this a good breast defence *(briost*

[r] Snorre was born in 1178, and died A. D. 1241; but his history is compiled from earlier and authentic sources, and with regard to the life of King Olaf Tryggvason, we possess the originals from which he drew, viz. the life of that monarch written by Oddr and Gunlaugr, monks of the monastery of Thingore, in Ireland, the former of whom died in 1200, and the latter in 1210. See the Preface to *Sverris Saga*, and Reenhielm's edition of Oddr, 4to. Ups. 1691. The text of Gunlaugr was printed at Skalholt, 4to. 1689, and has been recently republished at Copenhagen. See also Mr. Wheaton's interesting volume on the History of the Northmen, pp. 99, 109.

[s] Spec. Reg. p. 375.

[t] Ib. p. 400.

biorg) of iron, reaching from the bosom to the breeches-belt; above that a good tunic of mail *(brynio)*, and over all a good gambeson *(panzara)*, of the same length as the tunic, but without sleeves. Let him have two swords *(sverd)*, one girded round him, the other suspended at his saddle-bow; and a good dagger *(bryn-knif)*. He must have on his head a good helm, made of tried steel, and provided with all defence for the face *(ok buinn met allri andlitz biaurg)*; and a good and thick shield suspended to his neck, especially furnished with a strong handle *(skialldarfetli)*; lastly, let him have a good and pointed spear *(kesiu)*, of tried steel, with a strong shaft."[u]

The passage in Giraldus I refer to, is that in which he describes the descent of the Norwegians under Hasculph, to attack the city of Dublin, then defended by Milo Cogan, about the year 1172, as follows: "A navibus igitur certatim erumpentibus, duce Johanne, agnomine *the wode*, quod Latine sonat insano vel vehementi, viri bellicosi Danico more undique ferro vestiti, alii loricis longis, alii laminis ferreis arte consutis, clipeis quoque rotundis et rubris, circulariter ferro munitis, homines tam animis ferrei quàm armis, ordinatis turmis, ad portam orientalem muros invadunt."[x] In the course of the battle he speaks of a Dane's legs being cut off clothed on both sides with iron, "cum panno loricæ," which proves that a linen gambeson or breeches were worn under the mail, as described by the author of the Speculum.

Keeping, therefore, these passages in view, it will perhaps be the best mode of inquiry, to take each portion of the armour worn by these figures separately, and to offer such remarks on each as may suggest themselves.

The helmets are chiefly conical, either with or without a nasal, and many of them exhibit a great peculiarity in having pendant flaps attached to protect the ears and neck *(oreillettes)*, which were in all likelihood flexible. Of this form, no other instances have occurred to me

[u] Ib. pp. 405, 406.

[x] I quote from a very fine MS. of the time of John, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. which contains some curious illuminations of the costume of the Irish at that period, which deserve to be engraved.

in the manuscripts or monuments of France or England, but it is unquestionably of Asiatic original, and must have been brought into Europe at the period of the great Gothic invasion, or, what seems more probable, have been copied by the Northmen during their expeditions to the East. A helmet of nearly similar shape is ascribed to the ancient Sarmatians, from being found on the reverses of the coins of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius.[y] A passage also in Ammianus Marcellinus seems to point to the same sort of helm, when, speaking of the Persians, he says, that they so completely covered the face as to render it impossible for a dart to penetrate, except through the openings left for the sight and breath.[z] This fashion has been preserved to a very recent period in India and China; and in the collection of armour belonging to Llewellyn Meyrick, Esq. at Goodrich Castle, is an example of a helmet made of buffalo's hide, boiled in oil, manufactured, as is conjectured, for the Rajah of Guzerat, which shews perfectly the three appendages so strongly defined on several of the chess-figures.[a] Of this nature were probably the *hangandi stálhufar*, mentioned in the Speculum; and, as Einerson remarks, they were apparently provided with *kind-skiærm* or defence-pieces for the cheeks, called *kinnbiorg*. When deprived of these flaps, the conical helmet with a nasal perfectly resembles those on the Bayeux tapestry, and various other monuments of the 11th and 12th centuries, and was most frequently worn, as in the instances of the Warders, over the hood of mail.[b] To this conical shape the term of *ha-seimda hialma*, used in the *Lodbrokar Quida*,[c] seems to apply, and proves the antiquity of its use among the nations of the North. Sir Samuel Meyrick informs us that the *chapel de fer*, or plain conic helmet, was introduced into England in the time of Rufus; and that

[y] Mailliot, tom. ii. pp. 436, 437.

[z] Lips. de Mil. Rom. Opp. tom. iii. p. 140, 8vo. Vesal. 1675. Compare Meyrick's Illustrations of Armour, vol. ii. pl. 135, 140.

[a] Illustrations of Ancient Armour, vol. ii. pl. 141.

[b] See Montfauc. Monum. i. pl. 32, 50, MS. Cott. Calig. A. vii. Nero, c. iv. and Chart. Y. 6. Ured. Sigill. Com. Flandr. P. D'Ebulo de Motib. Siculis, Strutt's Dresses, pl. 43, &c.

[c] Ed. Johnstone, 12mo. 1783. "Then, while our tempered steel sung on the *high-seamed helm*, the wolves found a rich repast."

the nasal (called *nefbiorg*[d] by the Scandinavians) fell into disuse towards the middle of the 12th century.[e] This corresponds very well with the different shapes offered to us by the chess-men, which seems to indicate that period when the ancient and precise form of the conical helm and nasal began to be laid aside, but not wholly superseded. Some of the figures wear plain flat or round scull-caps, whilst others have a broad rim to them. All these come under the denomination of *stál-hufur*, mentioned in the Speculum, which were made without any defence to the face.[f] Such a cap is represented in the figure engraved by Reenhielm, from the ancient MS. of the Laws of Gula,[g] and a similar one was formerly suspended over the tomb of King Olaf of Sweden.[h] A figure also in the curious Roll of the Legend of St. Guthlac, of the 12th century, exhibits the union of the nasal with the flat cap;[i] and it is more distinctly seen on the monument of Geoffry Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church, who died in 1144.[k] But even in the 14th century the conic helmet had not been entirely discarded, as shewn by the illuminations in the celebrated book of Flatey.[l] One of the head-pieces worn by the Warder, No. 9, (Pl. XLVIII. fig. 3.)

[d] When King Magnus Barefoot of Norway, [1093—1103,] led his forces to Britain, he was opposed, opposite the Isle of Anglesea, by two Earls, Hugh the Proud, and Hugh the Fat. The King shot an arrow against the former, and at the same moment another arrow was launched in the same direction by one of his followers. The Earl was so enveloped in mail (*allbrynjathur*), that no part was exposed but his eyes, and both the arrows striking at once on the Earl's face, one of them broke his nasal (*nefbiorg hialmsins*), whilst the other perforated the eye and brain, so that he dropt down dead. Saga Magn. Burf. c. 11.

[e] Meyrick's Ancient Armour, vol. i. p. 37. In the MS. executed by order of Anselm, Abbot of St. Edmund's, who died in 1148, the English are drawn in conical helmets without nasals. The nasal was partially revived about the year 1200: see Meyrick, p. 104, and P. D'Ebulo de Motib. Siculis, 4to.

[f] V. Einerson's Note, Spec. Reg. p. 406. [g] Thorstens Vikings-sons Saga, p. 85.

[h] Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna, tom. i. pl. 28. fol.

[i] Chart. Cott. Y. 6, Strutt's Dresses, pl. 43.

[k] Dugd. Bar. i. 203, Gough's Sepulchr. Mon. p. cv., Stothard's Monumental Effigies, pl. x. The flat or pot helmet is also very distinctly marked in the monument of William the Norman, Count of Flanders, who died in 1128, and this seems to be the earliest instance of it. Ured. Sig. Com. Flandr. p. 14.

[l] Haco's Expedition against Scotland, by Johnstone, 12mo. 1782, *Pref.*

is of a very remarkable shape, and precisely resembles the one in which King Eric of Sweden is represented, in the paintings which surround his tomb in the Cathedral of Upsala; in which likewise various other species of the *stál-hufur* appear. This monarch died in 1160, but the paintings were probably executed after his translation in 1273.[m] It is, indeed, highly probable that among the people of the North fewer and slower changes took place in regard to their military equipments than among the Normans or the English; and this may account for the appearance of these round or pot-caps, which were so much the fashion at a later period. In ancient times the helmets of the kings of Norway were gilt, as shewn by the poetic Edda of Sæmund,[n] by the Herverar Saga, cap, 19, by Nial's Saga, cap. 85, and by many passages of Snorre; sometimes, but at a later period, they bore a cross depicted on them.[o]

The body armour of the chess-pieces is of two descriptions, the wadded linen cloth coat or *wambais*, worn by the knights, and the tunic of mail, with or without a hood, in which some of the Warders are dressed; of the antiquity of both descriptions of these war-garments there can be no question, since we find them mentioned by Greek and Roman writers.[p]

The *wambeys*, *gambeson*, or *panzar*, (for they are one and the same, derived from Teutonic terms signifying the belly,) was composed of stout linen cloth, stuffed or wadded with tow or cotton, descending almost to the knees, and worn, either by itself, or together with the tunic of mail, beneath or above, according to the fashion more or less coarse in which it was made.[q] It seems to be scarcely distinguishable from the Hauketon, which Sir Samuel Meyrick believes to have been derived from the Saracens.[r] By the passage already quoted from the Speculum, it seems to have been without

[m] Peringskiold, Mon. Suev.-Goth. fol. Stockh. 1710.

[n] Vol. ii. p. 363, Ed. 4to. Havn. 1818.

[o] Heimskringla, i. 764. Montfauc. Monum. i. pl. 50.

[p] Lips de Mil. Rom. lib. iii. dial. 6.

[q] See Meyrick's Dissertation on this species of armour, Archæolog. xix. p. 210, seq. in which it is to be regretted a stricter chronological arrangement of authorities has not been adopted. Wachter is certainly mistaken in explaining the *Panzar* to be of iron.

[r] Ancient Armour, vol. i. p. 48.

sleeves when worn over the mail; but when used by itself it certainly had sleeves, as in the instances of the chess-men, and other authorities. John of Salisbury tells us, that in the reign of Henry II. the English knights had them made so tight, that they seemed to sit on the body like the skin of the wearer.[s] He speaks of them either as linen or silk, which refers to the exterior facing of the garment.

Of the same materials it was fashioned among the Scandinavians, and hence it easily appears, how the *panzar*, when worn as an outer garment, became, by degrees, the armorial surcoat. Snorre, in speaking of King Olaf Tryggvason, says he was conspicuous with a gold shield and helmet, and wore a kirtle of red colour *(raudan kyrtil)* above his mail *(brynio)*.[t] But the monk Oddr, from whom he copies, and who died in 1200, calls it a red silk kirtle *(raudum sijlki kyrtli)*, which resembled a fair rose.[u] So, in a battle against the Vends, at *Hlyskogs heythe*, King Magnus the Good takes off his tunic of mail *(hringa-brynio)* and puts on a red silk shirt *(rautha silki skyrta)*; then, taking his battle axe, he rushes into the fight. The shirt here spoken off was evidently a gambeson, since otherwise it would have afforded no protection. This garment was sometimes called *hiup* (the *juppe* of the French), such, for instance, as was wove for Ragnar Lodbrog by Aslauga;[x] and a similar vest, impenetrable to the sword, was received by Orvar Oddr from a lady in Ireland.[y] Other examples may be found in Steenhielm's notes to Thorstein's Saga, and in Thorkelin's Fragments relating to English History. He supposes the use of silk derived by the Northmen from Constantinople. At the period of the Crusades silken and furred surcoats were generally worn, as is apparent from Albert of Aix's description of the French knights.[z] It may be added that, in the twelfth century, the workmanship of the North in the fabrication of body armour was in high estimation, since the author of Sverris Saga, after telling us that the men who guarded Stalvard's

[s] He says they only studied, "ut lineas suas vestesve sericas sic perstringant et torqueant, ut quasi cutem cerusatam aliis succis obnoxiam carni faciant cohærere." Polycrat. lib. 6. 3.

[t] Cap. 122, tom. i. p. 337. Ed. Schön. See also *Nials Saga*, cap. 85, 4to. Hafn. 1809.

[u] Cap. 65, p. 228. Ed. Reenh.

[x] Thorkelin's Fragments, p. 6.

[y] *Herverar Saga*, p. 31, 4to. Havn. 1785.

[z] Gesta Dei per Francos, i. 203. Cf. Mills, i. 466.

ship wore steel caps *(stálhufu)* and gambesons *(panzara)*, adds that they were all of Gothic manufacture.[a]

Mail armour, consisting of rings or plates of iron or brass, fastened on folds of linen, seems to have been known to the inhabitants of the North long before the dawn of literature among them, and is repeatedly alluded to in the most ancient of their writings. The general term applied to the tunic of mail was *brynio*, Saxon *byrne*, which in all probability was derived from the colour of the metal of which it was composed.[b] In what respect the common *brynio* differed from the *hringa-brynio* or lorica annulata, is not easy to define, but it appears to have been what is termed *mascled* or *trellised* armour,[c] as exhibited in the dress of the chess-Warders. Such a defence is, perhaps, alluded to in the *Völunda-quida*, where the term "nailed byrnies"[d] is employed, in reference to the studs or nails which fastened the intersecting mascles or pieces of wire. Of the *hringa-brynio* a specimen is preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, which is ascribed to the eleventh century.[e] It covered the head, body, and arms, and descended to the knees. This was the usual shape of the *brynio*, whether mascled or ringed, and is well exemplified in several of the chess-men. Of this description was the tunic worn by Harald Hardraad, in his battle against Harald of England, in 1066. It was called *Emma*, says the historian Snorre, and was so long, that it came to the middle of the thigh, and so strong, that no weapon could penetrate it.[f] But it left the throat in some measure unprotected, and here it was Harald received his death wound. There is some reason to believe that the Norwegians may have borrowed this species of armour, together with their kite-shaped shields, from the Franks, who from

[a] Noregs Konunga Sögor, tom. iv. p. 286. We are told by Snorre, in Olaf Helga's Saga, c. 204, that Thorer caused twelve tunics to be made by the Fins, of rein-deer skins, which were so contrived by magic art, as to be stronger than mail *(hringa-brynio)* and impenetrable to a sword.

[b] V. Ihre, in v.

[c] Archæolog. xix. pp. 121, 126. Cf. Reenhielm's Notes, ubi supr. p. 88.

[d] *Negldar brynior.* The Editor says, "Loricas clavis sive bullis auratis ornata intelligo." Edda Sæmund. ii. 9. Ed. 4to. 1818.

[e] Museum Regium, pt. ii. § ii. 95.

[f] Harald Härdrades Saga, cap. 94.

the eighth century were a far more polished people than the rest of their Gothic brethren. In the Bayeux tapestry the steel armour consists either of flat rings, or mascles, placed contiguously, and at the close of the eleventh century, both ringed and scaled armour were worn by the French knights, as we learn from Anna Comnena.[g] Examples of the mascled tunic or hauberk, with sleeves and hood, resembling those on the Warders, may be found in the French illuminations of the twelfth century, MSS. Cott. Cal. A. vii. Nero, *c.* iv. in the English Roll of St. Guthlac's Miracles, Chart. Cott. Y. 6, and in D'Ebulo's poem on the conquest of Sicily by the Emperor Henry the Sixth.

There are two existing monuments in relation to the Danes, which may naturally claim a slight notice here. The first is a reliquary engraved in Strutt's Habits of the people of England, vol. i. pl. 24, representing the murder of Theodore, Abbot of Croyland, in 890, by Oscytel and his companions, and supposed to have been executed not long afterwards. The figures here appear bare-headed, in tunics or gambesons, which descend to the knees, and which seem to have borders of mail, or, perhaps, a shirt of mail beneath. They wear breeches and leg-guards, which are attached together, but from the engraving it is difficult to determine whether the material be of linen, leather, or iron. The other document I refer to, is a MS. formerly in the library of Mr. Towneley,[i] written in the time of Anselm, Abbot of St. Edmund's, who died in 1148. In this, the Danes are every where drawn bare-headed, or with conical caps; they wear a linen tunic or gambeson, which reaches to the middle of the thigh; they have no breeches, and their feet are covered by leathern galoshes, through which their toes are thrust.[k] On the whole, these Northmen, so depicted, bear a far greater resemblance to the "rugh-fute rivelings" of Minot, than to the iron-clad and gilded heroes of the Sagas; and we may suspect that the

[g] P. 397. She calls the tunic χιτὼν σιδηροῦς κρίκοις ἐπικρίκω περιπεπλέγμενος.

[h] Strutt, i. pp. 57, 63. Cf. Meyrick's Ancient Armour, i. lxix.

[i] Now belonging to Mr. Booth, bookseller, of Duke Street, Portland Place.

[k] These boots seem the same as those called *rullions* by the Scots, made from the raw hide. See Ritson's note to Minot, p. 188.

pious Abbot, or his delineator, drew them in this manner, in order to excite contemptible ideas of the murderers of St. Edmund.

The Shields of the Knights and Warders are highly curious, as presenting to us a series of devices (the immediate precursors of hereditary armorial bearings), in greater variety than is to be found on any other existing monuments. From the very earliest period the Gothic nations were accustomed to paint their shields of various colours,[l] and from the Romans they might easily have learned to adopt different insignia. From some passages in the Voluspa,[m] Saxo,[n] and Egil's Saga,[o] it has been assumed by many of the northern Antiquaries, that the ancient Scandanavians adorned their shields with representations of their exploits;[p] but Sperlingius, in his collections on the subject,[q] argues strongly against it, and affirms that before the twelfth century no trace of any devices on shields is to be found among them. The use of colours, however, and even gilding is admitted, and the usual pigments employed were red or white. In Sæmund's poetical Edda mention is made of a red shield with a golden border;[r] and the encomiast of Queen Emma, in describing Canute's armament, when sailing to invade England, speaks of the glittering effulgence of the shields suspended on the sides of the ships.[s] At the period of the first crusade it was certainly customary to ornament shields very highly. Robert of Aix, who was himself present, thus describes the European knights: "They are clothed in iron, their shields are resplendent with gold, gems, and colours, and their helms emit

[l] Tacitus, de Morib. Germ. cap. 6.

[m] Str. 18, p. 32. Ed. 4to. Havn. 1828. Cf. Edda Sæmund. part ii. pp. 79, 104, 963.

[n] Hist. Dan. lib. iv. pp. 56, 57, lib. vii. p. 136, fol. Soræ, 1644.

[o] Cap. 81, p. 698, 4to. Havn. 1809.

[p] Bartholinus, p. 149. Torfæus, Hist. Norv. Prolegom.

[q] MS. Add. 5183, f. 22, sq. in v. *Arma.*

[r] *Helga-Quida*, st. 30. In the *Scalda*, or collection of eddaic epithets attached to the Edda of Snorre, we are told that it was usual to paint the exterior circle of the ancient shields, which was called *Baug*, and hence shields were also poetically termed *Baug*. Ed. Resen. 4to. Havn. 1665. V. *Egils Saga*, p. 697.

[s] "Erant ibi scutorum tot genera, ut crederes adesse omnium populorum agmina. Si quando sol illis jubar immiscerit radiorum, hinc resplenduit fulgor armorum, illinc vero flammis dependentium scutorum." Ap. du Chesne, p. 168.

rays like sun-beams. In their hands they bear ashen spears, which seem like huge beams, headed at the extremity with a sharp iron spike."[t] The only device on shields noticed by Snorre, is that of a cross, which Sperlingius conjectures was first introduced by King Olaf the Saint, at the commencement of the eleventh century. This is founded on a passage, thus given by Sperlingius from a MS. "King Olaf had for the defence of his ship one hundred men, armed with tunics of ring-mail *(hringa-brynior)* and French helmets *(Valska hialma)*. Many of his soldiers carried white shields *(hvita skiölldo)*, distinguished by crosses of gold, or of colours, red and blue. The King ordered all his troops to make a cross also on their helmets with chalk."[u] Most of the shields depicted in the Bayeux tapestry bear crosses of different shapes, and this is likewise the case with those of the chess-figures. The æra of the general adoption of armorial bearings in Europe is fixed with sufficient exactness to the end of the twelfth century; but the existence of certain distinctive badges or figures is, unquestionably, to be referred to an earlier period.[x] The shields on the Bayeux tapestry exhibit not only crosses, but a species of dragon, and on the seal of Robert the Frisian, Earl of Flanders, attached to a charter dated in 1072, is represented a lion rampant.[y] There is a passage also in the Nials-Saga, written at the commencement of the twelfth century, which expressly notices the insignia adopted by Kari, son of Solmund, a native of the Hebrides, and Helgo, son of Nial, about A. D. 998. "Skarphedin," says the writer, "went first, clad in a kirtle of blue, and bearing a shield of the kind called *targe* *(törguskiölld)* and an axe on his shoulder. He was followed by Helgo, who wore a helmet and a red tunic, and carried a purple shield, on which was depicted a stag. Next came Kari, dressed in a silken tunic, with a gilded helmet, and a shield bearing the figure of a lion on it."[z] The instances of armorial bearings on

[t] "Horum ferreæ vestes, clypei auro et gemmis inserti variisque coloribus depicti. Galeæ in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant. Hastæ fraxineæ in manibus eorum ferro acutissimo præfixæ sunt, quasi grandes perticæ." p. 241, ap. Bongars.

[u] MS. Add. 5183, f. 22.

[x] Dallaway on Heraldry, 4to. 1793. [y] Uredus, p. 6.

[z] *Nials-Saga*, cap 93, p. 306. Ed. 4to. Havn. 1809. Sperlingius is mistaken in referring this Saga to the 14th century. See also Arngr. Jon. Crymog. c. ii. 663.

the shields of Richard Fitz-Hugh, Earl of Chester (ob. 1119),[a] of Robert the Norman, Earl of Flanders (ob. 1128),[b] of Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex (ob. 1144),[c] of Geoffroi le Bel, Comte du Mans (ob. 1150),[d] and on the banner of Waleran, Earl of Worcester (ob. 1166),[e] may likewise be adduced as evidence of the adoption of individual badges about the middle of the twelfth century. With these may be compared the shields engraven in Willemin, and those painted in MS. Cott. Nero, C. iv. all of which are of the same period. There is no reason, therefore, to refer the bearings on the shields of the chess-men to a later æra than the one we have chosen.

The shape of these shields is also worthy attention, since the Northmen are generally supposed to have used them of a round or lunated form; whereas these exhibit precisely the kite-shaped Norman shield, as shewn in the Bayeux tapestry, and in other monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sir S. Meyrick conjectures that the Normans may have adopted them from the Sicilians; but this appears questionable, since in very ancient times the shield of the Northern warriors was of sufficient length to serve for their bier,[f] and, consequently, must have been of a form approaching to the long oval or heater figure. It is not at all improbable, however, that this peculiar form may have been learnt from the Franks.

We find traces in the poetical Edda of the early estimation in which the Frankish armour was held, where Gunnar, one of the *reguli* of Germany, says to the messenger of Attila, King of the Huns: "Seven chests have I filled with swords; each of them has a hilt of gold; my weapon is exceedingly sharp; my bow is worthy of the bench it graces; my tunics of mail are golden; my helmet and white shield came from the hall of Kiars."[g] Frequent mention is made in the Sagas of French swords, French helmets,

[a] Meyrick's Ancient Armour, i. 35. [b] Ured. Sig. Com. Flandr. p. 14.

[c] Gough's Sep. Mon. p. cv. [d] Montfaucon, Mon. Franç. tom. ii. pl. 12.

[e] Meyrick, i. 36. In Henry the Second's time, it was the fashion to paint and gild the shield very highly. Joh. Sarisb. Policrat. lib. 6. c. 3. Nicolas, son of Sigurd Ran, says Snorre, used a red shield, ornamented with stars (circ. 1175). *Magnus Erlingsons Saga*, cap. 40, tom. iii. p. 455.

[f] *Nials-Saga*, cap. 63, p. 199.

[g] *Atla-Quida*, vol. ii. p. 370. This Kiars was a regulus of Gaul, who lived in the 6th century. Cf. *Volunda Quida*, and Suhm's Hist Krit. Tom. ix. pp. 88, 425.

and French coats of mail;[h] and Wace in the *Roman de Rou*, says that Rollo and his companions:

> Chevals quistrent et armes à la guise franchoise,
> Quer lor semblout è plus riche è plus cortoise.[i]

At the end of the 11th century these shields are thus minutely described by Anna Comnena, in speaking of the French knights. "For defence they bear an impenetrable shield, not of a round, but of an oblong shape, broad at the upper part, and terminating in a point (*οὐ περιφερὴς ἀλλα θυρεὸς ἀπὸ πλατυτάτου ἀρξάμενος καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ καταλήγων*). The surface is not flat but convex, so as to embrace the person of the wearer; and the exterior face is of metal so highly polished by frequent rubbing, with an umbo of shining brass in the middle, as to dazzle the eyes of the beholder."[k]

An ancient shield of this description is preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, which was excavated at Röldal, near Hardangr, in Norway. Its length is four feet, by two in width, and it is composed of two layers of boards *(tuibyrding)*, each half an inch in thickness, the outermost placed longitudinally, the innermost horizontally. The surface is protected by a covering of leather, slightly figured, and in the interior are three handles of the same material, fastened by iron nails, the heads of which appear on the outside. This shield is convex, and gradually decreases in width towards the lower end. Olaus Wormius, to whom it once belonged, mentions another similar to it, which was sent him from Ireland, as a relic of Danish antiquity. The author of the Museum Regium supposes it might have been brought by the Northmen from France, after their conquests there; but remarks, that a similar shield was used by Earl Skute of Norway, about the year 1239.[l] In Abbot Anselm's MS. before referred to, the Danes are likewise represented with kite-shaped shields, on which are various figures.

[h] Cf. Snorre, 1, 95, and Index to Orkneyinga Saga, p. 283, in v. *Valska*.

[i] Vol. i. p. 65.

[k] Alexiad. lib. 13, p. 314. In the *Hervarar Saga*, Arngrim is said to have had a shield of large size, strengthened with plates of iron (*storum járnolám*), cap. 3.

[l] Mus. Reg. pt. ii. §. III. 23. Cf. Mus. Worm. p. 370, and *Saga Hakonar konung Hákonar-sonar*, cap. 238, 242.

This kite-shaped shield became by degrees wider at the top, as may be seen in the cases of some of the Warders, and towards the close of the 12th century became considerably shortened, an instance of which is afforded on the seal of Earl Magnus, son of Benedict, about A. D. 1196.[m]

One peculiarity, with regard to these figures of the Warders, (Nos. 6, 7, 8,) and which serves to confirm in no small degree my belief that they are of Norwegian or Icelandic workmanship, is the singular manner in which they are represented ***biting their shields.*** Now this was a characteristic of the Scandinavian ***Berserkar,*** who were unarmed warriors subject to fits of madness on the eve of battle, under the influence of which they performed the most extraordinary feats. Snorre Sturleson, in his Heimkringla, thus describes them: "The soldiers of Odin went forth to the combat without armour, raging like dogs or wolves, biting their shields, and in strength equal to furious bulls or bears. Their enemies they laid prostrate at their feet; neither fire nor weapon harmed them; this frenzy was called ***Berserksgangr.***"[n] So also the historian Saxo, in speaking of the sons of Syvald, writes: This man had seven sons, so expert in the art of magic, "ut sæpe subitis furoris viribus instincti, solerent ore torvum infremere, ***scuta morsibus attrectare,*** torridas fauce prunas absumere, extructa quævis incendia penetrare: nec posset conceptus dementiæ motus alio remedii genere quàm aut vinculorum injuriis aut cædis humanæ piaculo temperari."[o] And in another passage, where Hartben Helsing sees his champions defied by Haldan, in a fit of madness he bites furiously the edge of his shield.[p] The same feat is practised in the Herverar Saga by the sons of Arngrim, when preparing to fight with Hialmar and Oddr Vinforla.[q] From these authorities it is evident, that, although the sculptor of the chess-men did not, from obvious reasons, fashion these pieces without armour, as was strictly

[m] Peringskiold, *Attälar for Swea och Götha Konunga Hus,* p. 72.

[n] *Ynglinga Saga,* cap. 6, Tom. i. p. 11. Cf. Barthol. Antiq. Dan. p. 345; Verelii Index Ling. Scytho-Scand. in v. *Berserkr;* and the Annotations *De Berserkis* at the end of *Kristni Saga,* p. 142, 4to. Havn. 1773.

[o] Hist. Dan. lib. vii. p. 123.

[p] Ib lib. vii. p. 124.

[q] P. 25, Ed. 4to. Hafn. 1785, cf. p. 35.

the case with the race of men called *Berserkar*, (whence their name, qu. *Bare-shirt*, is derived,) yet that he evidently intended by retaining one of the principal symptoms which always accompanied these ancient fits of warlike frenzy, to designate the impetuosity and valour of the champions on the mimic field of battle, which the chess-board was supposed to represent.

On the swords and spears of the chess-figures it will be unnecessary to dwell long. They are known to have been used by all the Gothic nations, and were very long and heavy. They had, besides, a shorter sword, which was termed *sax*.[r] In Egils Saga a Northern warrior's arms, who fought in the battle of Brunanburg, A. D. 926, on the side of Athelstane, are thus described: "Thorolf had a wide and thick shield, and a strong helmet on his head; he was gird with a sword called *Lang*, a mickle weapon and good. In his hand he carried a spear *(kesiu)*, the head of which was two ells in length, terminating in a four-edged point, and broader at the upper part; the part connecting the head with the staff was of iron, long and thick, and the staff itself in length a cubit, bound strongly with iron. This kind of spear is called *Brynthvarar* (the darkness of byrnies)."[s] The spear of Arnliot Gellin was of such thickness that it quite filled his grasp (literally, was a *hand-full)*, and was covered with gold.[t] Their swords were often ornamented very highly, as will appear from citations already made, and the value of one may be learnt from Torfæus, lib. 5, cap. 13, where the sword given by Hacon Adelstein to Hoskuld, is estimated at half a pound of gold, equal to 128 dollars in Danish money.[u]

It results, therefore, from the above inquiry, that the general military costume of the chess-men, will accord as well with what we know of the

[r] V. Notas Reenhielmi ad Thorstens Vikings-sons Saga, p. 85, and the collections of Sperlingius, MS. Add. 5183, f. 56.

[s] Cap. 53, p. 285, Ed. 4to. Havn. 1809. Bartholinus gives an engraving of this spear, p. 149.

[t] Saga af Olafi hinom Helga, cap. 227, Tom. ii. p. 354. Compare the description of Grettur's spear in *Grettar Saga*, ap. Bartholin, p. 364.

[u] Sperlingius, ubi supr. Cf. the account of Otger's sword preserved formerly in the monastery of Pharon, Act. Benedict. sæc. 4, p. 1.; Bartholin, p. 579; and Rothe's Treatise "De Gladiis Veterum, imprimis Danorum," 12mo. Havn. 1752.

armour of the ancient Norwegians as with that of any other nation; and that, in several particulars, its character is more appropriate to the Northern than to the Southern or Eastern style of dress.

But the strongest argument perhaps in favour of our hypothesis, is that which rests on the testimonies, ancient and modern, of the fondness of the Scandinavians for the game of Chess, which they seem to have cultivated from a remote period. Whether they derived their knowledge of the game from their intercourse with the Franks in the ninth and tenth centuries, or from Constantinople, may admit of a doubt; but the latter seems, on various accounts, more probable.

As early as the beginning of the ninth century, Ragnar Lodbrog is reported to have visited the Hellespont, and before the middle of the eleventh century the expedition of Harald Hardraad to the East, his amour with the Empress Zoe, and his escape from prison by means of the Varangian guards, are matters of historical record. The early establishment of these Varangians as the Imperial Guard, (who were, undoubtedly, Scandinavians, and who play so principal a part in Sir Walter Scott's recent novel of Count Robert,) would of itself argue an intimate connexion between the Greeks and Northmen, and this is corroborated by perpetual notices in the Sagas.[x] The share also taken by the Northmen in the first Crusade, is an additional argument of their acquaintance with the oriental world. But as the game of chess certainly passed from Asia to Europe, and probably through more channels than one, it is of very minor importance to inquire more minutely from what quarter the inhabitants of the North received it.[y] In proof of the ancient usage of chess among them, I shall therefore content myself by adducing such passages of the old northern writers as have occurred to me in this inquiry. In the Saga of Ragnar Lodbrog, printed in Biörner's collection,[z] and in an ancient account of the Danish invasions of Northumberland in the ninth century, intitled *Nordymbra*,[a] it is stated, that after the death of Ragnar, messengers were sent to his sons in Denmark by King

[x] V. Pontoppidan, *Gesta Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. i. cap. 1. 8vo. Lips. 1740.

[y] V. Loccenii Antiq. Goth. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 124, 4to. Francf. 1676.

[z] Cap. 18, fol. Stockh. 1737.

[a] Thorkelin's Fragments of Engl. and Irish Hist. p. 13, 4to. Lond. 1788.

Ælla, to communicate the intelligence, and to mark their behaviour when they received it. They were found thus occupied: "Sigurd Snake's-eye played at chess *(sitia at hnef-tabli)*[b] with Huitserk the Bold; but Biorn Ironside was polishing the shaft of a spear in the middle of the hall. As the messengers proceeded with their story, Huitserk and Sigurd dropped their game *(lata thegar falla nithr taflit)*, and listened to what was said with great attention; Ivar put various questions; and Biorn leant on the spear he was furbishing. But when the messengers came to the death of the chief, and told his expiring words, that the young boars would gnash their tusks (literally, grunt) if they knew their parent's fate, Biorn grasped the handle of his spear so tight, with emotion, that the marks of his fingers remained on it, and when the tale was finished, dashed it in pieces. Huitserk compressed a chessman he had taken so forcibly with his fingers, that the blood started forth from each;[c] whilst Sigurd Snake's-eye, paring his nails with a knife, was so wrapt up in attention, that he cut himself to the bone without feeling it." So, also, in the Herverar Saga, which refers to very ancient traditions of scaldic poetry, Hervora, daughter of Angantyr, goes to the court of Godmund, King of Jotunheim, in male disguise, and assumes the name of Hervardr. One day, as the old King was playing at chess *(lek at skáktafli)* it happened that he had the worst of the game, and was on the point of being mated *(ok buit vid máti)*. The King asked if any one could assist him with advice at the game *(vid tablinu)*. Then Hervardr went up to him, and so played, that in a short time the game was restored, and Godmund had the advantage, which made him very joyful.[d]

In the same Saga, cap. 15, among the ænigmata or riddles proposed by Odin, under the form of Gest the Blind, to King Heidrek, occur three which

[b] *Hnef-tafl*, Lusus latrunculorum, *Skakspel*. Verelius. So termed from *Hnefi*, the hand or fist, by which the pieces were moved, qu. *Hand-play*.

[c] "Hellt *taufio* einni er han hafthi drepit, oc hann kreisti hana sua fast, at blod stauck undan huerum nagli." The Latin version in Biörner reads, "captivum quendam calculum tantisper manu tenens, mox duriter adeo torsit, ut sanguis ex unoquoque erumperet digito," and in Thorkelin, "Latrunculum quem ceperat tam fortiter inter digitos compressit, ut singuli sanguinem mitterent." This Saga is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the 13th century. See Müller's Saga-Bibliothek, vol. ii.

[d] Herverar Saga, cap. 7, p. 74. Ed. 4to. Hafn. 1785.

refer to the game of chess,[e] and prove how familiar it must have been at a period of remote antiquity.

Gest asks the monarch:

Hverier ró þegnar	Who are those lords,
er rída þingi at,	who ride in company,
sáttir allir saman,	all together in amity;
lída sína senda þeir	who send out their people,
lönd yfir,	over the lands,
at byggia bólstadi?	to acquire habitations?
Heidrekr kongr,	O king Heidrek,
hygg þu at gátu.	attend to the riddle!

Heidrek answers:

God er gáta þin	Easy is thy riddle,
Gestr blindi,	O Gest the Blind,
getit er þeirrar:	this is the solution:
Itrecr ok Aundóttr	Itrec and Aundott
om aldr daga	every day
tefla teitr skák;	play blithely at chess;
sátt er þeim lid allt	all their people are in amity
er i siod kiemr,	when they come into the bag,
enn á reitum reitt.	but at enmity when in the field.

Gest again inquires:

Hveriar ró þær drosir[f]	Who are those ladies,
er sinn drottinn	who their lords
vapnlausann vega;	slay without weapons;
enar dauckvari[g] hlífa	the dark-coloured defend
úm alla daga,	throughout the day,
enn enar fegri fara?	but the fair-hued kill?
Heidrekr kongr, &c.	O king Heidrek, &c.

[e] Pp. 146, 148, 152. [f] Al. *brudir*, brides. [g] Al. *jarpari*, the brown.

Heidrek replies:

God er gáta	Easy is the riddle
Gestr blindi,	O Gest the Blind,
getit er þeirrar:	thus it is solved:
duga hnefa taublör	the dark-coloured chess-pieces
dauckvari í tabli,	defend on the board,
enn hvítar heria a mót.	but the white destroy.[h]

A third time Gest asks:

Hvert er þat dyra	What is that animal,
er drepr fe manna,	which slays men's cattle,
ok er jarni	and is with iron
allr urinn í kring;	all about clad:
horn hefir átte,	sides it has eight,
enn höfut ecki,	but no head,
oc filgia þvi margir meök?	and many run after it?
Heidrekr kongr, &c.	O king Heidrek, &c.

Heidrek answers:

God er gáta þin	Easy is thy riddle,
Gestr blindi,	O Gest the Blind,
getit er þeirrar:	this is the solution:
húni[i] man sia vera	It is a chess-man
í hnefa tabli	on the table-board,
frekr ok flár til fear.	bold and crafty to acquire fee.

It is sufficiently obvious, that the first of these ænigmata relates to the chess-knight, the second to the chess-queen, and the last to the chess-pawn, but the third receives unusual illustration by a view of the pawns which form part of the set discovered in the Isle of Lewis, which present to us the octagonal shape alluded to by Gest, and this adds a col-

[h] See the note of Verelius to this obscure passage, in his edition of the Herverar Saga, fol. Ups. 1672.

[i] Al. *Hnottafli er*, a draught-man.

lateral proof in support of their Northern manufacture. From the above citation as well as from the *Gunnlaugi Saga*, it would seem as if not only men but women were accustomed to play at chess; which was the case also in France and England, as proved by various authorities I might produce. Olaus Magnus says that all the Northern people were acquainted with the game, and more particularly the men of birth among them, who made use of it as a means to ascertain the temper and abilities of their daughters' suitors before marriage.[k] The Northern warriors considered a proficiency in chess one of the requisites of liberal education, and ranked it with the art of engraving magic runes, scating on the snow, or composing Scaldic lays. In the old metrical story of Karl and Grymr, which became so popular in the North of Sweden as to be chaunted in the form of a ballad, the exercises in which the youth of Grymr was engaged, in order to gain the affections of the fair Ingegerdis, daughter of Karl, are thus described:

> Wex hann upp og vandist bratt, vigra leyk ad efla,
> Rioda sverd i randa þate, renna biarg, og tefla,
> Stunda tafl, og stiornu list, steine langt ad varpa,
> Aungra hefur hann menta mist, er meta pryder garpa.

i. e. he was, as he grew up, accustomed to make his sword ruddy in the warlike play of shields; to climb up the ice-bergs; to wrestle; to play well at the game of chess; to study the science of the stars; to throw the stone; and to practice other sports which were held in estimation.[l] Corresponding to this we find an Earl of the Orkneys, Kali, the son of Kolr, at the beginning of the 12th century, thus boasting of his accomplishments: "I know," says he, "nine several arts; I am expert at the game of chess; I can engrave runic letters; I am assiduous at my book; I know how to handle the tools of the smith; I can traverse the snow on wooden scates;

[k] Lib. xv. cap. 12, lib. xxi. cap. 28.

[l] The translation of Biörner is subjoined: "Hunc cita extulit ætas mavortiis ludis sedulò innutritum; ensibus puta scutatorum percussione cruentandis; montibus scandendis decurrendisque; luctationibus et *latrunculorum ludis* rite edendis; astris cognoscendis; saxis longè projiciendis; aliisque artibus quibus quidem heroica parare perpolireque pectora antiquius consuevit ævum."

I excel in shooting with the bow; I use the oar with facility; I can sing to the harp; and I compose verses."[m] It is doubtful whether a line in the ancient Scaldic poem entitled *Voluspa* refers to chess or draughts, since the term *table* or *table-play* includes both, but more usually the former.[n] The same may be said of the *Gunnlaugi Saga*, composed at the end of the 12th century, where Gunnlaugr and Helga are said to have often amused themselves at tables *(at tabli)*,[o] Pinkerton understood it in the usual signification, and writes: "Chess was the favourite amusement of the Gothic nations, and known among them in the earliest times, and in all their most barbaric possessions. In Iceland chess was general and in the 11th century we find Gunlaug the Scald, playing at chess with the beautiful Helga, whose love so excited him and Rafen, another Scald, that they fought, and fell by mutual wounds."[p] But the high antiquity of this game in the North may be inferred from a magic figure or rune by which the player might win at chess, preserved among Finn Magnusen's MSS. in the Bodleian Library; which is directed to be engraven on wood and held in the hand.[q] It is of the form shown in the margin.

I have already quoted the Saga of Kröka Ref, an Icelander of the tenth century, in which a present of a chess-board and set of men, made of the teeth of the Walrus, was sent from Greenland to King Harald Hardraad. When this gift was laid before the King, the bearer, Bardur, thus accosted him: "Here is a chess-table *(tafl)*, lord, which the most noble person in Greenland sends to you, and desires no-

[m] Orkneyinga Saga, p. 150, 4to. Hafn. 1780. Ol. Worm. Lit. Dan. p. 129, 4to. Hafn. 1636. Bartholin, p. 420. Torf. Hist. Orcad. cap. 21, p. 94, fol. Havn. 1697. "Tafl em ec aurr at efla," &c.

[n] "Tefldu i tune teitur voru," i. e. "They (the Gods) played at tables in the area (or board), and were joyous." Resenius has this note on the passage: "*Tefldu, Tafl*, N. G. significat omne ludicrum inventum, veluti sunt Tali, jactus Talorum, nucum, &c. *Alea Latrunculi* seu *Scachiæ* Skäk usitatissimè *Tafl* appellatur, hinc illud verbum *ad tefla*, id est, latrunculis ludere invicim." Philosoph. Antiq. Norv. Dan. p. 20, 4to. Hafn. 1673. Cf. Gloss. in Edda Sæmundar, 4to. Hafn. 1828, in v. *Tafl, Tabl;* and Ihre, Lex. Suio. Goth. in vv. *Tafwel, Tafwelbord, Tafla.*

[o] *Sagan af Gunnlaugi Ormstungu*, p. 52, 4to. Havn. 1775.

[p] Hist. Scotl. i. 396.

[q] No. 93. "Ad viña skak rist a eik and haf i hendiñi."

thing in return but your friendship and wise counsel." It was, adds the writer of the Saga, both a nut-table and a chess-table (*þad var bæde hnot-tafl oc skaktafl)*, and calculated to play at both games;[r] which will prove that the *nut-table* was not backgammon, but the modern game of draughts. In the Saga of *Samsone Fagra*, a fabulous son of King Arthur, the hero goes to *Bretland* (Britain) to seek the hand of Ingina, daughter of Earl Finlog, in marriage. She is affianced to him, but their nuptials are delayed till the summer. In the mean time King Garlant of Ireland and his court are asked to the ceremony, who embark for that purpose; but, putting into a haven remote from the Earl's house, they pitched their tents, and remained there till the wedding-day should arrive; amusing themselves in the interval with the sports of chess *(tafl)*, racing, throwing the spear, and wrestling.[s] And again, in the mythic Saga of *Fridthiofe Frækna*, Hring, King of Hringariki, in Norway, sends messengers to the sons of Bela, King of Sognia, another district of the same country, to exact tribute, and threaten war in case of refusal. In this emergency they send a trusty servant, named Hilding, to Fridthiof, son of Thorstein Vikingson, to request his aid. When Hilding arrived, he found Fridthiof playing at chess *(sat at hnefa tabli)*, and thus addressed him: "Our kings greet you, and bid you come to help them in battle against King Hring, who has unjustly endeavoured to invade their territories." To this Fridthiof answered nothing, but said to Biorn, with whom he was playing *(er hann teflþi viþ)*, "A vacant space is now left on the board, my brother, nor shall you change the order of the pieces, (I, however, prefer the fair-colored or red,) and await the fortune that is to happen." Hilding spoke again to him: "The King Helgi sends thee this message, either to assist him in the war, or to suffer a hard penalty when it is finished." Then Biorn said: "The game is two-fold, my brother, and there are two modes of playing *(tvo vega fra at tefla)*." Fridthiof replied: "Therefore it will be better to bring the royal piece first into the field (*þa mun raþ at sitia fyrst at hnefanum)*, for then the two-fold condition will be less requisite." Hilding, when he could obtain no other answer, returned to his lords without delay, and having told what had

[r] Ap. Marcusson, p. 54, 8vo. 1756.

[s] Ap. Biörner, cap. 8, p. 13.

passed, the kings inquired what meaning could be elicited from the words of Fridthiof. Hilding replied, "When Fridthiof spoke of a vacant space, he seemed to intimate a delay, in order to deliberate whether he should assist you in battle; and when he pretended to choose the fair-colored pieces *(fogru tablinu)*, he referred, in my opinion, to your sister Yngibiarg, whom therefore you must guard carefully; but when I threatened him with your anger, and Biorn seemed to be between two ways, and Fridthiof advised that the royal piece should be first moved *(at hnefanum munþi verþa fyrst lagt)*, he appeared to me to allude to King Hring and his attack upon yourselves."[1]

Snorre Sturleson relates an anecdote of King Canute which would prove that monarch to have been a great lover of the game. About the year 1028, whilst engaged in his warfare against the kings of Norway and Sweden, Canute rode over to Roskild, to visit Earl Ulfr, the husband of his sister. An entertainment was prepared for their guest, but the King was out of spirits and did not enjoy it. The Earl attempted to restore his cheerfulness by conversation, but without success. At length, the Earl challenged the king to play at chess *(at leika at skáktafli)*, which was accepted, and, the chess-table being brought, they sat down to their game *(toko þeir þa skaktafl oc leko)*. After they had played awhile, the King made a false move, in consequence of which Ulfr captured one of his opponent's knights *(einn riddara)*. But the King would not allow it, and replacing his piece *(tafl)*, bade the Earl play differently. On this, the Earl (who was of a hasty disposition) waxing angry, overturned the chess-board *(tafl bordino)*, and left the room. The King called after him, saying: "Ulfr, thou coward, dost thou thus flee?" The Earl returned to the door, and said "You would have taken a longer flight in the river Helga, had I not come to your assistance, when the Swedes beat you like a dog—you did not then call me

[1] Ap. Biörner, cap. 3. The whole is very obscure, and I have chiefly followed the Latin and Swedish versions supplied by the editor. His translation of *tvykostur eru þarna* by "*tesseræ* in bivio vel in dubio sunt," is erroneous; since dice are not mentioned, and were not used either at chess or draughts. This Saga was, probably, composed at the end of the 13th century. V. Müller's Sagabibliothek.

coward." He then retired, and some days afterwards was murdered by the King's orders.[u] This anecdote is corroborated by a passage in the anonymous history of the monastery of Ramsey, composed, probably, about the time of Henry I. where we are told, that Bishop Etheric coming one night at a late hour on urgent business to King Canute, found the monarch and his courtiers amusing themselves at the games of chess and dice.[v] Nothing indeed is more probable than the introduction of the game of chess into England by the Danes, and we cannot refer it to a more suitable period than the reign of Canute himself. The tradition of this game having been brought from the North certainly existed, and is mentioned by Gaimar, who wrote about the year 1150, when speaking of the mission of Edelwoth from King Edgar to the castle of Earl Orgar, in Devonshire, to verify the reports of his daughter Elstrueth's beauty. When he arrived at the mansion:

> "Orgar juout à un *esches,*
> *Un giu k'il aprist des Daneis;*
> Od lui juout Elstruet la bele,
> Suz ciel n'out donc tele damesele."
>
> MS. Reg. 13 A. xxi. f. 133. c. 1.

> "Orgar was playing at the Chess,
> A game he had learnt of the Danes;
> With him played the fair Elstrueth,
> A fairer maiden was not under heaven."

Whether we may receive on Gaimar's authority the inference, that chess was introduced among the Saxons so early as the middle of the tenth century, seems dubious. Strutt,[x] indeed, Henry, and a few other writers, who thought it easier to make assertions than researches, state in round terms that the Saxons were well acquainted with the game. But the only passage they refer to is the one in the Ramsey Chronicle above quoted, which does not sufficiently bear them out. Lye may, however, have contributed to their error, in translating "*Tæfl,* Ludus latrunculorum," "*Tæfel stan,* La-

[u] *Saga af Olafi hinom Helga,* capp. 162, 163, tom. ii. p. 275, 276. The sister of this Ulfr was wife to Earl Godwin, and mother of Harold, King of England.

[v] "Ipse [Æthericus] quoque mannum, curiam aditurus, ascendens, ipsumque calcaribus urgens, Regem adhuc tesserarum vel *scacorum* ludo longioris tædia noctis relevantem invenit." Hist. Rames. ap. Gale, vol. i. p. 442.

[x] Sports and Pastimes, Pref. p. iv. He speaks more correctly at p. 232.

trunculus," and "*Tæfl-mon*, Latro, sc. ad ludum latrunculorum, *a chess-man*." He cites a poem in the Exeter MS. but on consulting that valuable and interesting volume, I find that the game there mentioned cannot be chess, but must be more nearly allied to backgammon, since the use of dice is mentioned in it.[y] There are a few other general allusions to the table-game in the same MS.; but, as far as I am acquainted with Saxon remains, there is no specific notice of chess in them, nor is the northern term of *skaktafl* ever made use of. Dr. Hyde was of opinion, that the English were indebted to the Normans for the game, subsequent to the Conquest, but this is refuted by what has been previously advanced. But, in either case, the general belief of chess having been first known in Europe after the crusade at the end of the eleventh century, is shewn to be ill-founded.[z] William the Conqueror is, by tradition, believed to have played at chess, and, according to Wace, it was well known at the court of his father Robert [1029—1035].

[y] The passage is here subjoined. It is, like the greater part of the volume, very obscurely written, and I am indebted to Mr. Price for his help in making any thing of it.

Hy twegan sceolon	They two shall together
tæfle ymb sittan,	at the table-game sit,
þenden him hyra | torn to glide,	whilst their anger glides away,
forgietan þara | geocran gesceafte;	shall forget the anxious cares of life;
habban him gomen on borde,	they shall have game on the board,
idle hond æmet,	with idle hand unoccupied,
lange neah tæfles monnes	long near the table-men
þonne teoselum weorpeð.	shall they throw the dice (*tessellæ*).

[z] It must at the same time be admitted, that the crusades may have contributed to render the game more generally known. Robert the Monk of St. Remy, who accompanied the first adventurers in 1095, mentions the game of chess (*scaci*) among the amusements of the Prince of Babylon and his troops, but does not speak of it as a diversion that was new to him. Ap. Bongars, vol. i. l. 5, p. 51. Fouche de Chartres, another contemporary and eye-witness, introduces Corbagath the Soudan playing at chess (*scacis*) on the approach of the French host. *Ib.* vol. i. p. 393, from whom William of Malmesbury copies the passage. When Richard I. was in Palestine, he captured a caravan going from Babylon to Jerusalem laden with silks, &c. and among other things "utres et *scaccaria*." Brompton, col. 1245. And in 1235, King Louis IX. of France had a present sent to him from the *Old Man of the Mountain*, or Sheik of the Hassassins, of a set of chess-men made of chrystal and gold, which, I have reason to believe, are still in existence in the Museum of M. Dusomarard, of Paris. See Joinville, p. 86, fol. Par. 1668, and note to the *Roman de la Rose*, tom. ii. p. 122. Ed. Méon.

Li Ducs ama gieus covenables,
Deduit *d'esches* è de tables.
MS. Reg. 4 C. xi. f. 252. c. 2.

The same writer attributes great skill at the game to Richard I. son of William Longsword [942—996] great-grandfather of the Conqueror:

De tables è *d'eschez* sout compaignon mater.[a]

The ancient family of Rokewode, who bear for their arms, Argent, six Chess Rooks sable, refer the origin of this coat to the skill of their ancestor in playing with William. It is thus mentioned in a treatise compiled by one of the family about the time of James the First: "And so came these 6 towers or Chesse Rookes, *quasi de Rupe Lignea*, w^c^ some do affirme were originarely geven to the firste bearer of this coate for his excellente skyll in this exercyse, of in this respecte playenge w^t^ the Conqueror at his firste entery into this Lande. But whith^r^ yt was assumed primarely for allusion to his name, or whither yt was originarely conferred for his extraordinary vnderstandinge in that game; or rath^r^, as is more probable, for the experience of his g^t^ fidellytie, & excellente service of his Sovereigne, w^t^ the defence of the cõmon weale in all tymes of danger, I wyll not curiously defyne."[b] The same species of tradition is preserved in the family of Bunbury, who bear, Argent, on a bend sable, three Chess-Rooks of the field. "It is reported," says Randle Holme, "that the ancestor of this family was a great lover of the game, and often exercised himself with William the Conqueror, who, in memory of his excellency therein, gave him three chesse rooks, as above said, for his coat-armour."[c] We are bound therefore to believe what Gerard Legh tells us in his "Accedens of Armory," 4to. 1568, when speaking of the game of chess, he writes: "This pastime did that valiaunt prince King William the Conqueror so much use, that some time he lost whole lordshippes thereat; as in Lincolnshiere and els where, I think the auncient evidences therof can declare."[d] Not having been fortunate enough to meet with any of these "auncient evidences," I am compelled to leave the further discussion of the Conqueror's knowledge of the game to

[a] Roman de Rou, tom. i. p. 127. Ed. Pluquet.

[b] MS. penes John Gage, Esq. f. 3 b.

[c] Academy of Armoury, pt. ii. book 2, c. 14, xxxii. fol. Chester, 1688. The original MS. is in the Harleian collection, No. 2033.

[d] I quote at second hand (Twiss, i. 106) as the book is not in the Museum.

the descendants of the Norman barons who had the honour of winning his lordships. But there is certainly nothing improbable in the supposition that William played at chess. In the eleventh century the game was well known; and in Henry the Second's time, Gervase of Tilbury, nephew of that monarch, assures us that the Exchequer took its name from the chequered cloth spread in the Court, resembling the chess-board.[e]

But to return from this digression to the people of the North. As early as the thirteenth century a treatise was written in Icelandic on the game of chess, entitled ***Utskiring Tafl-listarennar***, which is quoted in the ***Sturlunga Saga***, composed before 1300, as we learn from Paul Widalin's Commentaries on the Laws of Iceland.[f] And from some similar work on chess, or vocabulary, Verelius quotes various chess terms, as the Rook-mate ***(Rogsmatt)***, Pawn-mate ***(Pedmatt)***, and a mate called ***Fretstertumatt***.[g] The proficiency of the Norse-men

[e] "*Disc.* Quæ est ratio Nominis? *Mag.* Nulla mihi verior ad præsens occurrit, quàm quod *Scaccarii lusilis* similem habet formam." Dialog. de Scaccario, ap. Madox, fol. 1711.

[f] Twiss on Chess, vol. ii. p. 175. In the Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 6719—6721, is a fine copy of Widalin's work (which has never been edited) purchased of Professor Thorkelin by Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Esq. who presented it to the Museum. I have not been able to find the passage in it referred to, and the Sturlunga, although printed, has not yet found its way to the library of the Museum.

[g] "*Tafl*, Herwar. S. 7, 15, Latrunculi, Skaktaflor. *Reisa tafl*, Cod. Orm. 54, 61, Latrunculorum ludum instruere. *Þreyta tafl*, idem, 60, Ludere latrunculis.

Taflbord, Ol. S. 156, Alveus latrunculorum, Bråspel, skakspel, Cod. Orm. 60.

Taflbrogd, Cod. Orm. p. 61, Lift och konst att spela Stack i Bråde, Viles [artes ?] et stratagemata in lusu latrunculorum. *Han hefr engi sin hin stauri taflbrogd i framhafi.*

Taflspeki, Cod. Orm. p. 59, Ars ludendi latrunculis, Konst att spela Stack.

Tafl fe, Cod. Orm. p. 60, Skotsilfr, Spelpenningar. Pecunia pro ludo latrunculorum. *Tefla, kaplaust*, Cod. Orm. 60, Spela och inthet sättia nogra penningar. *Þa sparar þu litit af taflinu*, Cod. Orm. p. 61, Du leker med alfwar. Vocabula quibus inferior lusor incessi sole. *Ek fai mat fyri þier*, Cod. Orm. Jag tapar skamligen spelet. Inde Ital. *matto*, stolidus. *Hrakligastur i taflinu*, Cod. Orm. 54.

Fretstertumat, Cod. Orm. p. 54. Est terminus et locutio ludentium latrunculis. *Fretstertumat* kallas, när den Bonden som står mitt mot Kongen i skaktaflet, kommer honom så när, att han skakar, eller stånger honom, och sijs för nåsan på honom. Cod. Orm. *Keisari fekk rogsmat, pedmat*, oc *fretstertumat*.

Ped, latrunculus lusorius, Cod. Orm. *Pedmat*, Exprobratio imperitiæ in collocandis et promovendis latrunculis. *Ol. Verelii Index linguæ Scytho-Scandicæ*, fol. Ups. 1691."

at this or an earlier period in the game, may be illustrated by a curious passage in the Romance of Sir Tristrem, written about the year 1290, but perhaps taken from a French original of much greater antiquity, in which the captain of a Norwegian vessel is introduced as challenging any one to play at chess with him for a stake of twenty shillings:

"Ther com a schip of Norway,
To Sir Rohandes hold,
With haukes white and grey,
And panes[h] fair y fold:
Tristrem herd it say,
On his playing he wold
Twenti schilling to lay;
Sir Rohand him told
And taught:
For hauke silver he yold,[i]
The fairest men him raught.[k]

A cheker[l] he fond bi a cheire,
He asked who wold play;
The mariner spac bonair,[m]
"Child, what wiltow lay?—
"Ogain an hauke of noble air,
Twenti schillinges to say;
Whether so mates other fair,
Bere hem bothe oway,"—
With wille,
The mariner swore his faye,[n]
For sothe ich held ther tille.

Now bothe her wedde[o] lys,
And play thai bi ginne;
And sett he hath the *long asise*,
And endred[p] beth ther inne:
The play beginneth to arise,
Tristrem[q] deleth atuinne;
He dede als so the wise,
He gaf has[r] he gan winne,
In raf;[s]
Of playe ar he wald blinne
Sex haukes he gat and gaf.

Rohand toke leue to ga,
His sones he cleped oway;
The fairest hauke he gan ta,[t]
That Tristrem wan that day;
With him he left ma
Pans for to play;
The mariner swore also,
That pans wold he lay,
An stounde:[u]
Tristrem wan that day,
Of him an hundred pound."[x]

It would appear from this not to have been an unusual practice at that

[h] Pence. [i] Yielded. [k] Reached. [l] Chess-board.
[m] Courteously. [n] Faith. [o] Pledge, stake. [p] Entered.
[q] Playeth to win, (Icel. *at vinna?*) [r] As. [s] Liberally. [t] Take.
[u] At that time. [x] Fytte i. st. 28-31, p. 25, ed. 8vo. 1806.

time to play for money; a custom which in modern times has almost universally at this game been abolished. The particular game played by the Norwegian and Sir Tristrem, here called the *long assise*, appears in the old Anglo-Norman treatises on the game, under the title of *Covenant lei veint*, and is played with the condition annexed, that mate is to be given in a certain number of moves, provided the red king is not moved unless forced by check, and none of the red pieces, unless they are in danger of being taken.

> " De le *long asise* ceste guy est,
> Sy pust estre jué de quel part ke wus plest."[y]

It is one of those numerous fictitious positions, which in the thirteenth century were so much in vogue, but which, at present, afford but little interest to the chess-player.

The testimonies of more modern writers in regard to the fondness of the northern nations, and more particularly the Icelanders, for chess, are numerous, and confirm in all points what has been before advanced. Olaus Magnus leads the van of these writers, and has already been quoted. After him comes Dithmar Blefken, who visited Iceland in 1562, and who says of the inhabitants: " In the winter time they keep in their beds for many days in succession, and amuse themselves with the game of chess, whilst their food is brought to them by their servants."[z] This Blefken is the same writer who told the ludicrous story relative to the Icelandic mode of giving an entertainment, which (with other similar reports) drew down on him the indignation of Arngrim Jonas. The correspondence of Wormius in 1627 and 1648, establishes the fact mentioned by Olaus Magnus, of the skill of the Icelanders in carving chess-men out of bone, and this is confirmed in the letter from M. La Peyrere to M. La Mothe le Vayer, in 1644, where giving an account of the same people, he writes: " J'obmetois de vous dire une particularité de l'esprit des Islandois, qui n'est pas à mespriser. C'est qu'ils sont

y MS. Reg. 13 A. XVIII. f. 190 b. MS. Cott. Cleop. B. IX. f. 5.

z Hyberno vero tempore ad multos dies lecto se continent, atque ludo scaccorum, quorum inventum Xerxi philosopho debetur, exercent: interim famuli cibum illis præparatum ad lectum deferunt." *Islandia*, p. 38, 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1607. The passage is copied into Purchas's Pilgrimage, vol. iv. fol. 1625.

tous joueurs d'eschets, et qu'il n'est point de si chetif paisan en Islande, qui n'ait chez luy son jeu d'eschets, faits de sa main, et d'os de poisson, taillé à la point de son couteau."[a] He adds (but I know not on what authority, since I find it not in Snorre or Torfæus), "The chess-game is not only of ancient standing, and generally used in Iceland, but all over the North. The Norwegian Chronicle tells us, that Drofen the giant, foster-father of Harald Hárfager, having heard of the famous actions of his pupil, then king of Norway, sent him among other presents, a very fine and rich chess-table. This Harald reigned about A. D. 870." Horrebow, in his Natural History of Iceland, published originally in 1750, informs us: "The Icelanders divert themselves a little at chess, as also at cards, but in a more particular manner at the former, in which they are very expert, though not such great masters of it, as, in all probability, their forefathers were."[b] So also Dr. Von Troil, in his Letters on Iceland, 1774, says, "They are famous at playing at chess, and had formerly two sorts of this game, one of which was called *jungfru schach* (Ladies' chess), and the other *riddare schach* (Knights' chess): at present only the last is customary."[c] And in 1778, Professor Thorkelin writes: "Etenim tessera, latrunculi, schachicusque ludus seculis x. xi. et xii. principibus in deliciis erant: qui ludus in Islandia ab incolis multa cum dexteritate hodie dum exerceatur."[d] But the fullest account of the Icelandic game of chess I am acquainted with, occurs in the travels of MM. Olafsen and Povelsen, who, during the years 1752-1757, took a statistical view of the island by order of the King of Denmark.[e] Of the Southern Division of Ice-

[a] Relation de Islande, p. 56. He afterwards describes a set of enamelled gold chess-men with which he played with the Countess Ulfeld, natural daughter of the King of Denmark. The Kings and Queens were represented crowned, sitting on thrones; the Bishops in their mitres and pontificals; the Knights on horses richly caparisoned; the Rooks were elephants with towers on their backs; and the Pawns, musqueteers. Ib. p. 63.

[b] Cap. 109, p. 139, fol. Lond. 1758.

[c] Letters on Iceland, p. 93. 8vo. Lond. 1780.

[d] Fragments, &c. p. 52.

[e] The original work was published in Danish, 2 vols. 4to. Sorõe, 1772, and a translation in French by Gauthier de la Peyronie, appeared in five tom. 8vo. Par. 1802.

land, or district of Kiosar, they write: "The natives of this part of the island, like the rest, play at different games, and take considerable interest in them. They amuse themselves much at chess, and also at draughts, which they call *Kotra*; but in the latter are various modes of play unknown to strangers, as for instance, their *mylna*, *fœringar-tafl*, *goda-tafl*, and others, which are very commonly used."[f] And of the Western Division, or district of Borgarfiord: "The people amuse themselves at chess, cards, and draughts. The two last are played most frequently. They have also a particular game at draughts called *saint Olafs tavl*; which is played blindfold, whilst they recite an old ballad, which must be learnt by heart. The spectators during the game observe perfect silence."[g] And again: "The Icelanders have been familiar with the game of chess for many centuries; and among them are found players of astonishing skill. The inhabitants of the west division chiefly excell, and there are even simple countrymen who have the reputation of being great masters of the game. The essential rules of this game are nearly the same with them as every where else, with some few exceptions. They have retained the ancient names given to the pieces by the Danes and other northern people. Thus, the principal pieces they call *Menn* and *Skakmenn*; the King, *Konungr*; the Queen, *Fru* and *Drotning*; the Bishop, *Biskup*; the Knight, *Riddare*; the Castle or Elephant, *Hrokur*; and the Pawns, *Ped*. Check-mate they express by *Skaka* and *Maata*."[h] Then follow minuter details of various positions or mates as played by the Icelanders, such as *Fuldt Bert*, *Litla Bert*, *Heimamat* (Fool's-mate), *Pedrifur* (Pawn's-mate), *Blod-sott* (Knight's-mate), *Utkomumat*, *Fruarmat*

[f] Vol. i. p. 50. orig. Ed. Tom. i. p. 95, French transl.

[g] Vol. i. p. 186, orig. Tom. i. p. 370, transl. Cf. Von Troil, p. 93.

[h] Tom. i. p. 462, orig. Tom. iii. p. 72, transl.—"Matadorer eller Officiererne kaldes *Menn* og *Skakmenn*; *Konungr*, Kongen; *Fru* og *Drottning*, Damen; *Biskup*, Bispen eller Löberen; *Riddare*, Springeren; *Hrokur* (en Kiæmpe eller Fribytter) ligesome i det Franske sprog, Taarnat eller Elephanten. Knegterne kaldes *Ped*; *Skaaka* og *Maata* at sælte Skak og mat." The French translation makes some confusion in this passage by transferring the name of the Bishop (*fou*) to the Knight, and vice versa.

(Queen's-mate), &c. but as these games differ in great measure from the mode of playing the game in the rest of Europe, it is unnecessary to repeat them here; but these are considered by the writers as the most ancient forms of the game in Iceland.

The above passages illustrate not only the chess-men as connected with Iceland, but also the ancient draught-men found with them, which are plain round pieces cut also out of Rosmars' teeth, but which it does not fall within my present plan more particularly to notice.

The spot on which these figures were found, in all respects favours the hypothesis I have adopted. It is well known that the Hebrides, or Southern Isles (*Sudureyar* or *Sud öer*) as they were called by Icelandic writers, were subject to the invasions of the *Vikingr* from the end of the eighth century, and during the reign of Harald Hárfager, about the year 875, were rendered tributary to the throne of Norway. The outer range of these Islands, in which the Lewis is comprehended, was chiefly peopled by the Scandinavians, and they continued to have princes of their own until the period of King Magnus Barefoot's expedition in 1096, who ravaged the Isle of Lewis with fire and sword, and added the Hebrides to his own dominions, to be governed by a dependent Lord.[i] It is related of this monarch, that to shew his power, he sent to Muircheard, King of Ireland, a pair of his old shoes, with orders that he should carry them through his palace on Christmas Day, in the presence of the messengers. The courtiers of the Hibernian sovereign were highly exasperated at this insolent proceeding, but Muircheard, who was probably unwilling to provoke hostilities with the Norwegian force then collected off his coasts, declared he would not only carry the shoes, but *eat* them, rather than Magnus should destroy any province of Ireland.[k] These Islands remained under the seignory of the Kings of Norway until the year 1266, when they were formally ceded to Alexander III. of Scotland by

[i] See Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. i. 266; Pennant's Tour, 1772, vol. ii. p. 233; Antiq. Celt. Scand. p. 231, and the *Saga af Magnusi Berfætta*, Tom. iii. p. 209.

[k] Antiq. Celto. Norm. p. 11, 4to. Copenh. 1786.

Magnus IV. in consideration of the yearly payment of 100 marks, and an additional sum of 4,000 marks, payable within four years.[l]

From very early times the closest intercourse existed between the North and Ireland, as well as with the Scottish Islands and the western coast of Scotland.[m] During the long reign of Olaf son of Godred over the Isles, from 1102 to 1142, the greatest tranquillity prevailed, and mutual friendship between the Kings of Norway, Ireland, and Scotland. But on his death his son Godred went to the Norwegian court to perform homage for the sovereignty of the Isles, and from this period their history becomes a series of discord and bloodshed. As the communication with the North was kept up in small vessels called *byrdinga* by the Islanders, the chances of shipwreck were great, in case of a storm, and we accordingly find several instances of the destruction of ships coming from Norway to the Isles.[n]

It would appear most probable, therefore, that the chess-men and draughtmen discovered in the Isle of Lewis, formed part of the stock of an Icelandic *kaup-mann*[o] or merchant, who carried these articles to the Hebrides or Ireland for the sake of traffic; and the ship in which they were conveyed being wrecked, these figures were swept by the waves on shore, and buried beneath the sand-bank, which for the space of near seven centuries continued to accumulate, before the fortunate discovery took place, which restored them to light. The number of the sets forbids us to regard them in the light of a present, or otherwise we might not unaptly believe them to have been sent by Inga, King of Norway (1136-1161), as a gift to Godred Olafson, whose reign over the Isles continued thirty-three years, from 1154 to 1187, and whose power was so great as to cause him to be elected King of Dublin. But the former is, on various accounts, the more reasonable supposition.

l Torf. Hist. Orcad. p. 198, fol. Havn. 1715. Antiq. Celt. Norm. p. 52.

m Torf. iii. 461, Spec. Regale, Pref. xx. Fragments of English and Irish History, from the *Laxdæla Saga*.

n In 1248, Harald, King of the Isles, returning from Norway with his bride Cecilia, daughter of the Norwegian monarch, a violent tempest arose, and the whole fleet perished in the waves Chron. of Man. ap. Johnstone, Antiq. Celt. Norm. p. 36.

o See *Haralds Saga ens Harfagra*, cap. 38, Tom. i. 115.

Here then I shall conclude these Remarks, which I fear have extended to too great a length, but which seemed requisite towards the fair illustration of these very curious chess-pieces. The material they are composed of, the peculiar forms of some of the figures, the costume, and the locality, all conspire to point towards the North as their birth-place; and when we find these circumstances corroborated by the testimonies of numerous writers in ancient and modern times, touching the existence of the game of Chess in Scandinavia, and the skill of the natives in carving similar figures—we cannot, I imagine, from all this evidence, hesitate in assenting to the proposition I have endeavoured to establish, viz. that the chess-men before us were executed in Iceland about the middle of the twelfth century.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

To Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S.
Secretary S. A. &c. &c. &c.

VIII. *An Account of two ancient Drawings preserved in the British Museum: One, representing the Attack of the French upon the Town of Brighthelmstone in* 1545: *the Other, the Battle of St. Etienne, otherwise called the Battle of Arques, fought near Dieppe, in* 1589. *In a Letter from* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, addressed to the Right Honourable the* EARL OF ABERDEEN, *K. T., President.*

Read 14th April, 1831.

MY LORD, British Museum, 14th April 1831.

I HAVE the pleasure to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries Copies of two ancient Drawings in the British Museum. One is a Tracing, which has been obligingly made for me by Mr. J. T. Smith, from a representation of the Town of Brighthelmstone, taken in the month of July 1545, when that place was attacked by the French. The other is a Bird's-eye View of the country in the neighbourhood of Dieppe in Normandy, evidently drawn upon the spot, and exhibiting the positions of the armies of the King of Navarre and the Duke de Maienne at the battle of St. Etienne, September 21st, 1589.[a]

Holinshed has a passage which sufficiently illustrates the first of these. He says, "In 37 Hen. VIII. 1545, July 18th, the Admiral of France, Monsr. Danebalte, hoised up sailes, and with his whole Navy (which consisted of two hundred ships and twenty-six gallies) came forth into the seas, and arrived on the coast of Sussex before Bright Hamstead, and set certain of his soldiers on land to burn and spoil the country: but the beacons were fired, and the inhabitants thereabouts came down so thick, that the Frenchmen were driven to flie with loss of diverse of their numbers: so that they did little hurt there. Immediately hereupon they made to the Isle of Wight, when about two

[a] See the Plates L, LI. Plate L. has been reduced to an eighth, Plate LI. to half the size, of the original.

thousand of their men landed, and one of their chief captains, named le Chevalier Daux, a Provençois, being slain with many other, the residue, with loss and shame, were driven back again to their gallies. And having knowledge by certain fishermen, whom they took, that the King was present upon the coast,[b] and a huge power ready to resist them, they disanctioned,[c] and drew along the coast of Sussex, and a small number of them landed again in Sussex, of whom few returned to their ships; for diverse gentlemen of the country, as Sir Nicholas Pelham and others, with such power as was raised upon the sudden, took them up by the way and quickly distressed them. When they had searched every where by the coast, and saw men still ready to receive them with battle, they turned stern, and so got them home again without any act achieved worthy to be mentioned. The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that diverse of them that were taken prisoners in the Isle of Wight and in Sussex, did report that they were three score thousand."[d]

The Town of Brighthelmstone had been previously attacked and burnt by the French, in the night, in 1514, by Prior Jehan, who was at that time the great captain of the French navy. Holinshed says that at this time, "when the people began to gather, by firing the beacons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet, to call his men aboard, and by that time it was day. Then certain archers that kept the watch followed Prior Jehan to the sea, and shot so fast that they beat the galley-men from the shore; and wounded many in the foist; to the which Prior Jehan was constrained to wade, and was shot in the face with an arrow, so that he lost one of his eyes, and was like to have died of the hurt: and therefore he offered his image of wax before our Lady at Bullogne, with the English arrow in the face, for a miracle.

"The Lord Admiral, offended with this proud part of the Frenchmen, in making such attempt on the English coasts, sent Sir John Wallop to the sea with diverse ships, which, sailing to the coast of Normandy, landed there and burnt one and twenty villages and towns, with diverse ships," &c.

[b] King Henry the VIIIth was at Portsmouth at this time.

[c] Grafton, in his Chronicle, alluding to the same naval expedition of the French, says, "they disankered," which in all probability is the meaning of Holinshed's "disanctioned."

[d] Holinshed, p. 969.

In the second of the Drawings exhibited, the Chateau d'Arques is represented in its original state, and the Castle of Dieppe as it stood before it was destroyed by the English.

This second Drawing, however, is particularly illustrative of a very important passage in Sully's Memoirs. Sully was himself present at the battle which he describes. He says,

"At the end of the causeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a space of arable land, in the midst of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each side. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marsh or boggy ground. A village called Martinglise bounds the hill, about half a league from the causeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the Duke of Maienne was encamped. The King was sensible, that by attempting to resist an army of above thirty thousand men, with less than three thousand, his conduct would be accused of rashness; but besides that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his new forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the present weak condition his party was in, demanded some bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compensate, in some degree, for the smallness of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the causeway, and above, as well as beneath the great road: he posted twelve hundred Swiss on each side of this road, and six hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed a thousand or twelve hundred others in a chapel he found in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. These were all the infantry he had. His cavalry, which amounted in all to but six hundred men, he divided into two equal parties; and with one, posted himself between the wood and the road, and separating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the morass, to fill in some sort that space. He did not sleep that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemies would make themselves masters of the causeway, he kept guard there himself. In the morning they brought him some refreshments into the ditch, where he invited his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought perhaps to have taken a few moments

rest, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the League was marching towards him, in order of battle.

* * * * * *

"The Duke of Maienne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a squadron of his German foot, who seemed to refuse fighting, because they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to surrender. Our Germans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; for that part of the morass where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a squadron of eight or nine hundred horse. At the approach of so large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horse, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other squadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till, being joined in our turn by the Count d'Auvergne, who brought a hundred and fifty horse more to our assistance, we a second time beat back the enemies squadrons. This game could not last long: three hundred horse from the enemies army joining the first, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in disorder; where fortunately our foot soldiers, who were posted there, stopped this cavalry short, and engaged in a battle wherein Sagonne and some other officers were slain.

"The Duke of Maienne commanding all the rest of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this post; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itself. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we should have had reason to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiss, who sustained the shock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. My horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swiss, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horse to march along the side of the morass: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overwhelmed the Swiss, and the rest of the soldiers, when luckily the horses approaching too near to the morass,

they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty disenengaged them, by leaving their lances sticking there.

"The battle continued some time longer in this state; that is to say, while we had any strength left; but at length we began to sink under the fatigue. On our side the same men were always in action, while our enemies were sustained with fresh supplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted. In this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the King, and to ask him for a reinforcement. I met this prince, coming to our quarter: 'My friend,' said he to me, 'I have no supplies to send you; however, we must not suffer ourselves to be depressed.' In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned towards Monsr. le Grand, and bade him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a seeming joy informed them of the supply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inspired with fresh vigour, it may be truly said that, at that moment, every man gave proofs of a valour scarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise our danger; but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to our enemies, and discovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causeway, where was our last intrenchment, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

"Our safety we owed to a circumstance that we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The canon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog; but as soon as the enemies could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and was followed by so terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces of canon, that the enemies were thrown into confusion. Four other vollies succeeded with such rapidity, that it pierced their army quite through; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of the valley: behind which some moments after, all this terrible multitude were lost; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and disheartened by a resistance which the Duke of Maienne had not expected.

"The King, after an action which had covered him with glory, retired to Arques. From thence he went to Dieppe, harrassed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent skirmishes; the detail of which I suppress, as having nothing very interesting after the battle of Arques."

The reader who would search for further particulars of this battle may consult the references in the note.[e] How important Henry the Fourth himself considered it, may be gathered from the manner in which he wrote to Crillon: "Pends-toi, brave Crillon, nous avons combattu à Arques, et tu n'y étois pas. Adieu, brave Crillon, je vous aime à tort et à travers." It was termed, sometimes, the Battle of St. Etienne, the chapel, which was so strongly disputed by the parties, being dedicated to that Saint.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Honourable
The Earl of Aberdeen,
&c. &c. &c.

EXPLANATIONS INSERTED IN THE DRAWING OF PLATE L.

"The Bekon of the Town."
"The Wynde Mylles."
"The towne of Brithampton."
"The valey comyng from Lewes towne to Brithampton."
"Hoove Church."
"Hove Village."
"A felde in the midle of the Town."

[e] Matthieu Hist. des Derniers Troubles de France, 8°, 1603. Daniel, Hist. de Fr. ed. Par. 1756, tom. xi. p. 539. Cayet, Chronologie Novenaire, tom. i. p. 263. Le Grain, Decade conten. La Vie et Gestes de Henry le Grand, 4°. Rouen, 1633, liv. v. p. 386. Les Memoires de M. le Duc de Nevers, fol. Par. 1665, tom. ii. p. 597.

"The town Fyre Cage."

"The Valley comyng from Ponynge betwixt Brithampton and the vilage Hove."

"The west part of Brithampton, all daungerous and without Cleves" (Cliffs).

"Upon this west parte may lond $\frac{M.}{C.}$ persons unletted by any provision there."

"The east parte of Brithampston rising only on Cleves (Cliffs) high."

"Here landed the Galeys."

"Shippes may ride all somer within di. a myle the towne in v. fathome water."

"These grete Shippes ryding hardabord shore by shoting into the hille and valeis over the towne, so sore oppresse the towne that the Countrey dare not adventure to reskue it."

EXPLANATIONS UPON THE DRAWING OF PLATE LI.

"Le Chateau d'Arques. Les trenches du Roy. Le Canon de l'ennemy tirant sur Diepe. Le Chateau et Citadelle de Diepe. Les tranches du Polet.

"Callemont. Le bourc d'Arques. Le Canon du Roy. Le tranches de Diepe; Le Cannon. Dieppe.

"La riviere d'Arques. Machonuille (Maneouville). Boutilles. Espinay. Le Polet.

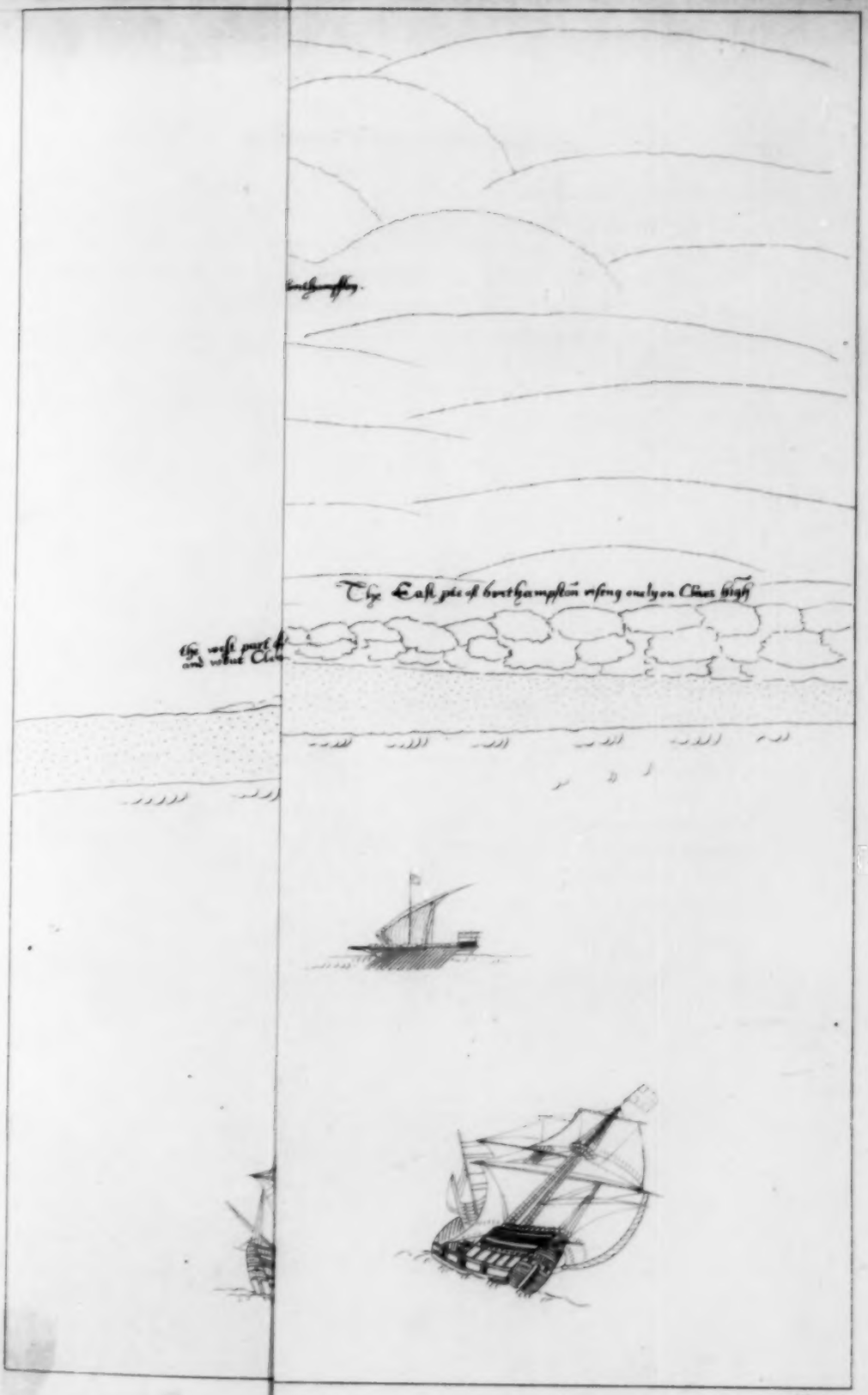
"La riviere de Torchy. St. Aubinet.

"Les Suisses du Roy. Les Suisses. La Cauallære du Roy. Le gros de l'ennemy de 4.^{M} cheuaux. Estran.

"La Cauallære du Roy. Le Roy. Le Marechal de Biron. La Cauallære du Marechal de Biron. St. Estienne. Trenches que Lansquènetz ont partrahison. Martin Eglise. Le Canon de l'ennemy. L'ennemy. L'ennemy. L'ennemy.

"Infanterie du Marechal de Biron.

"La Forest d'Arques."



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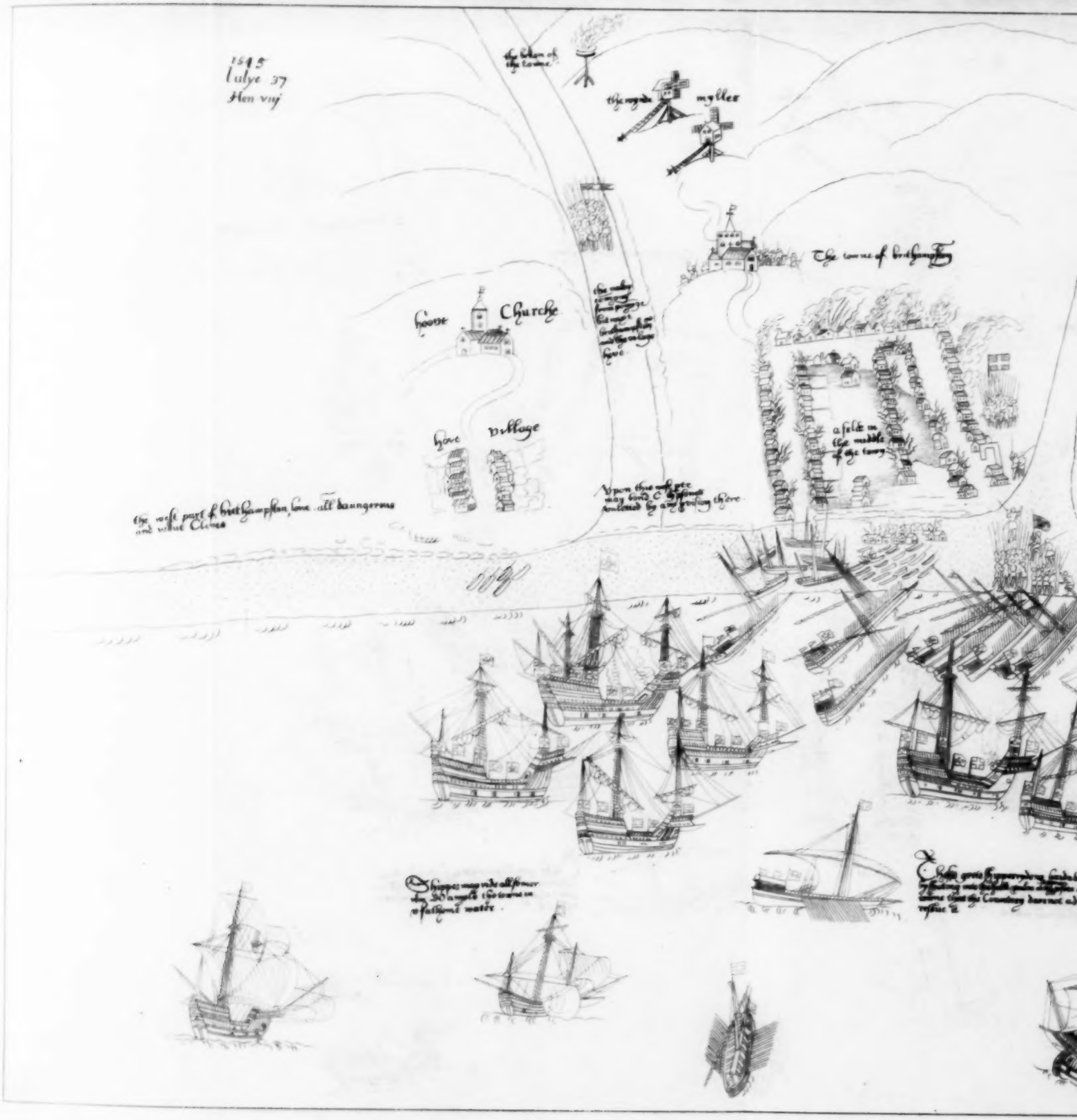
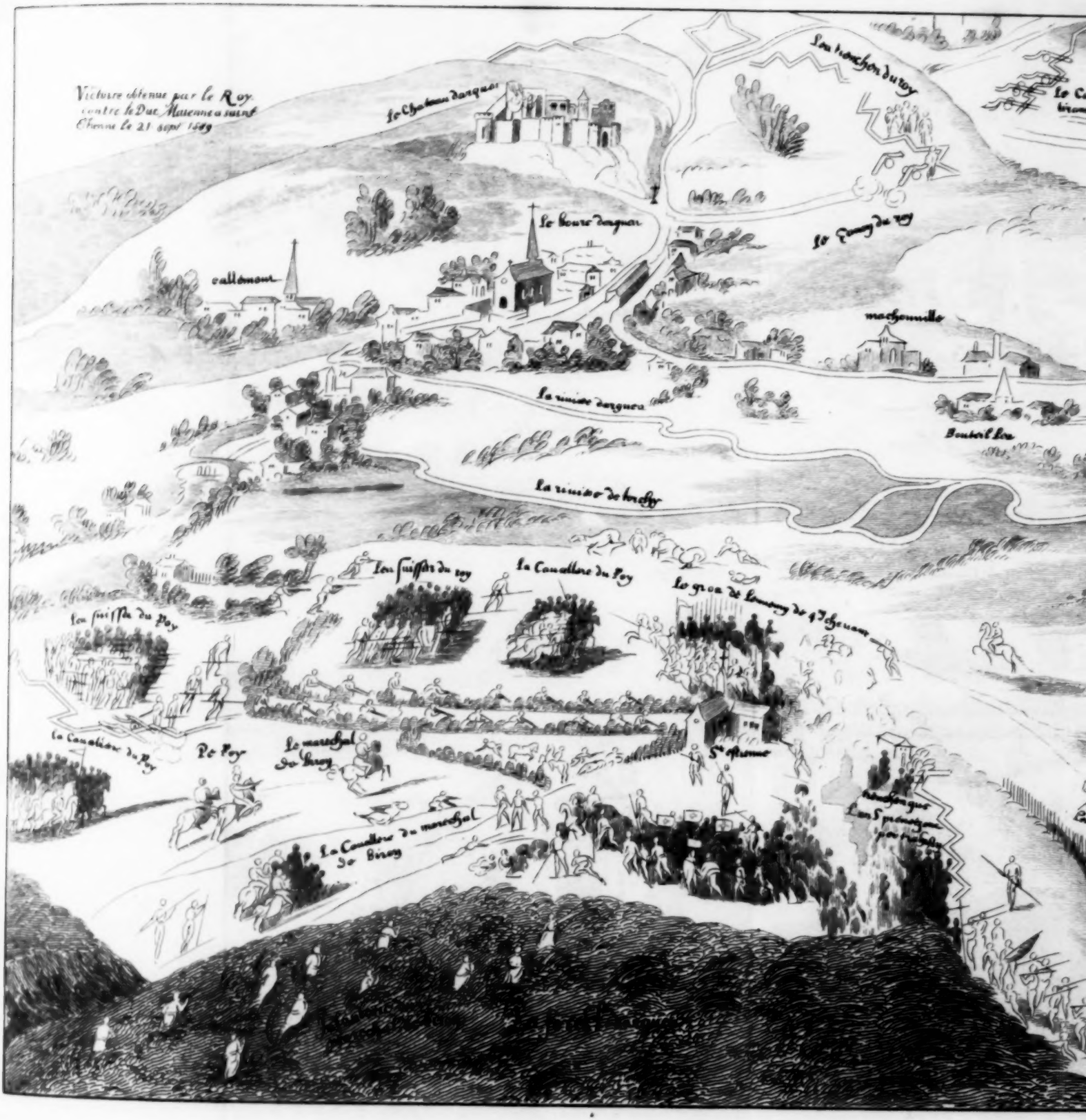


Representation of the Attack made by the French Fleet upon Brigh

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April 1836.

Brighthelmstone A.D. 1545.



Birds-Eye View of the Battle of Arques, or St.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1826

or St Etienne. A D 1589.

IX. *Accompts of the Manor of the Savoy, temp. Richard II.; Communicated by* WILLIAM WALTON, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S., Sec.*

Read 17th March, 1831.

Lincoln's Inn, 9th March, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN the course of my official researches I have met with two original Bailiff's Accompts for the Manor and Liberty of the Savoy, which may serve to illustrate the prices of materials and labour in the time of King Richard the Second. They are the Accompts of John Ekleston, then Bailiff of the Savoy, rendered to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for two years, viz. from Lady-day, 16th Richard II. to the same term in the 17th year of that king, and for the following year. I am enabled, by the permission of Lord Holland, Chancellor of the Duchy, most readily granted, to lay these Accompts before the Society. I need not enlarge upon the well known fact of the destruction of the Palace of the Savoy by the rebels in what is called Wat Tyler's insurrection, with, as the Chronicles say, "all the princely furniture and stock therein" belonging to the unpopular Prince John of Gaunt, titular King of Castile, &c. The building of this house cost Henry Duke of Lancaster (father-in-law to John of Gaunt), 50,000 marks, and the restoration of it seems to have been in progress during the time of these accounts, particularly of a tower in the Savoy, called "Symeon Tower." It does not precisely appear whether this Tower was a new erection, or only a reparation. I am inclined to think it was the latter, though the first Accompt is for the *Costs and expenses* within the said Manor, *for one Tower called Symeon Tower*, which are afterwards specified. There is no charge for the masonry or brickwork of the Tower: probably the walls only remained

"*post Rumorem*," as the Accompt quaintly terms the Insurrection. It seems the Tower contained a prison, whether of new or former erection.

If this Communication should give either pleasure or information to the Society, I shall be most happy. The antiquity of these documents renders them curious, and the wages detailed in them seem rather high; viz. sixpence a day for a carpenter, and fourpence a day for a labourer, multiplied, as they may fairly be, considering the value of money as detailed by the "Chronicon pretiosum," would give, I apprehend, a higher rate of wages than at present.

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM WALTON.

To Henry Ellis, Esq. &c.

TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS, SELECTED FROM THE ACCOMPTS.

"SAVOYE.

"The Accompt of John Ekleston, Porter there, and Bailiff of the Fees and Liberty of the Savoy, in the Vill of Westminster, from the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, in the 16th year of the reign of King Richard II. to the same in the 17th year of the same King, by Letters Patent of the Lord, dated at Calais, 2d of April, in the 16th year aforesaid, shewn upon this account to remain at the pleasure of the Lord."

After certain Rents of Assize are accompted for,

"For £4. 13*s*. 4*d*. the rent of 14 shops lately to the Manor of the Savoy annexed, for each shop by the year, at four terms, 6*s*. 8*d*. the accomptant had nothing, because they were burnt at the time of the Insurrection, and are not yet rebuilt."

Here follows an enumeration of certain Fee Farm Rents and Profits of Courts; then

"Sale of timber from the wood of Wilde Wood.

"And for 38*s*. for four cart-loads and 17 feet of timber, called "lodes," sold to Mr. John Henley, clerk, in gross; and for 16*s*. 4*d*. received for two other cart-loads and 7 feet of timber, called "lodes," so sold in gross to the Bishop of Durham; and for

12*s*. received of Edward Bys for one load and a half and one foot to him sold in gross this year; and for 60*s*. received from the Almoner of St. Paul's, for seven loads and a half, so to him sold in gross; and for 43*s*. received from the Churchwardens of St. Giles without Creplegate, for four loads and a half, so to them sold in gross; and for 9*s*. received from John Butiler, for one load, 5 feet, of timber, so to him sold in gross; and for 60*s*. received for nine loads of timber, sold as aforesaid to Master Henry Bowet, Archdeacon of Lincoln.

"Sale of Boards from the wood of Wilde Wode.

"And for 25*s*. received from Edward Bys, for 1,000 feet of boards, so sold to him in gross; and for 25*s*. received from Doncaster, carpenter, for 1,000 feet of boards, so sold in gross to him; and for 17*s*. 6*d*. received for 700 feet sold in gross to the aforesaid Mr. John Henley; and for 6*s*. 3*d*. for 250 feet of board sold in gross to another man.

"Sale of Laths from the aforesaid wood.

"And for 40*s*. for 12,000 laths, in gross sold; and for 35*s*. for 7,000 laths, so sold in gross."

Issues of Green Wax, and Amerciaments in the Marshalsea follow.

"Carriage of timber and wages of sawyers.

"Of which he accompts paid for carriage of the aforesaid 247 loads of timber, carried by the water of Thames to the Manor of Savoie, for each lode 12*d*. £12. 7*s*. which is in the Receiver-general's Accompt; and in divers costs and expenses, and payment made for drawing and carrying the aforesaid timber from the water of Thames into the aforesaid Manor of the Savoye, 53*s*. 10*d*. as appears by the particulars written upon this accompt; and for the wages of four labourers, for carrying board and lath from the bridge there into the cloister within the Manor there, for two days, each day 5*d*., 3*s*. 4*d*.; and for the wages of two sawyers, sawing timber for wall-plates, and beams, and plank-board, and plegges, and other timber for the gates of the Manor towards the street, for 14 days, 6*d*. a day, amongst them 14*d*., 16*s*. 11*d*. For felling, and peeling, and carriage of the aforesaid timber from the wood of Wildewode by land to the water of Thames, nothing here, because in the Accompt of Robert Whitby the Receiver-general.

"Cost of the tower called Symeon Tower.

"And for the wages of one carpenter, working about the aforesaid Symeon Tower, carpenter's work, viz. in doors, windows, and other necessaries there, for 15 days, by the day 6*d.*, 7*s.* 6*d.*; and for 150 sacks of lime, bought in gross, for the work of the aforesaid tower, 9*s.*; and for 500 nails, bought for the aforesaid tower, at 6*d.* per hundred, 2*s.* 6*d.*; and for 500 lath nails, bought for the aforesaid work, 2*d.* the hundred, 10*d.*; and for 1,000 nails, bought for the floor and stair of the aforesaid tower, 6*d.* the hundred, 5*s.*; and for 500 nails, bought for the roof of the aforesaid tower, at 5*d.* the hundred, 2*s.* 1*d.*; and for estrichboards, bought for the same tower, for windows and ledges, 2*s.*; and for 400 nails, bought for the aforesaid windows and other necessaries there done, at 3*d.* the hundred, 12*d.*; and for 400 nails, bought for the lead upon the tower, 4*d.* the hundred, 16*d.*; and for the wages of one plumber, hired in gross to cover the said tower, by contract with him made, 23*s.* 4*d.*; and for wood bought to melt the lead for covering the said tower, 2*s.*; and for the wages of one servant, to carry the lead from the bottom to the top of the tower, for five days, for each day 5*d.* except 1*d.*, total 2*s.*; and for the wages of John Teffs, mason, working there about the said tower, for 39 days, at 6*d.* a day, 19*s.* 6*d.*; and for the wages of one servant of the same, working there 34 days, at 4*d.* a day, 11*s.* 4*d.*; and for 2 stock locks, bought for two doors of the said tower, 20*d.*; and for 2 hang locks for the aforesaid tower, 16*d.*; and for hasps and staples bought for the said tower, 6*d.*; and for the wages of Thomas Cone, carpenter, for repairing the said tower, viz. for the roof and the floor, and for making anew the great gates of the said Manor towards the street, by contract with him in gross, 66*s.* 8*d.*; and for one rope, bought to draw the timber upon the tower, 2*s.* 2*d.*; and for eight cart loads of sand, with carriage, for the said tower, 2*s.* 8*d.*, carriage 4*d.*

"Costs of the Watergate, with other necessary expenses.

"And for Stephen Lete, mason, repairing and amending the Watergate of the Savoye aforesaid, for two days, at 6*d.* a day, 12*d.*; and for one stone, with lime for the same, bought for 3*s.* 6*d.*; and for the wages of a labourer, being within the aforesaid Manor, and working there about making the alleys in the garden, and digging, for lead, and for floor tile for 40 days, at 5*d.* a day, 16*s.* 8*d.*; and for the wages of another labourer, for like work, and for amending the bottom of the said tower, and other houses within the Manor there, for 37 days, at 4*d.* a day, 12*s.* 4*d.*; and for making one hedge for the protection of a garden of the Lord, opposite the said Manor of the Savoye, by contract, 10*s.*; and for one wheelbarrow, bought for the

store of the Manor, 12*d.*; and for a spade and a shovel, bought for the use of the said Manor, 1*s.*; and for one mattock, bought for the works of the Manor, 16*d.*; and for the wages of one labourer, working in the garden, and watering the alleys there, for 20 days, at 4*d.* a day, 6*s.* 8*d.* in the months of February and March in the 17th year."

"Wages.

"The wages of this accomptant from the 2d of April to the end of this accompt, 356 days, at 2*d.* a day, 59*s.* 2*d.*; and for parchment, bought for writing the Rolls of Court, and many other parcels, 8*d.*; and for the wages of the clerk, writing the Accompt and parcels thereof, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

"SAVOYE.

"The Accompt of John Ekelston, Porter there, and Bailiff of the Fees and Liberty of the Savoye, in the Vill of Westminster, from Lady Day, 17th Richard the Second, unto the same feast in the 18th year of the same king."

After accompting for Rents of Assize, and Fee Farm Rents, there follow:

"Issues of Manor.

"And for 13*s.* 4*d.* of the fruits and profits of the garden, so let for this year; and for 3*s.* 4*d.* for one old boat, coming as a wreck, and remaining from the preceding year; and for 20*d.* for a sword, a forfeiture, sold for that sum; and from two boats, forfeited anew in this year, of which one dung-boat, called a "showte," nothing here, because not yet appraised, but remaining in the custody of the Accomptant of Waifs and Estrays; and other forfeitures nothing here this year, because charged amongst the profits of Courts. For the timber of the old gate at the entrance of the Manor, nothing, because not sold; therefore it remains to the following year."

Here come Accompts for Timber sold, much as in former Accompts; afterwards,

"Profits of Courts, with Fines and Forfeitures.

"Charges himself with 100*s.* for the fine of Thomas Shrewsbury, for an escape from the prison of the Lord within the Manor of the Savoye, this year, who had committed a felony by killing a man within the liberty this year; and for £4. 17*s.* 10*d.* for profits of six Courts, held there this year, in the time of the accompt, as appears by the Roll

of Court there this year; whereof of the goods and chattels of John Barnaby, 30*s.* and of the goods and chattels of William Bromley, 20*s.*"

Amerciaments in the Marshalsea, and Issues of Green Wax, are here accompted for; then

"Carriage of Timber from Wyldwood.

"Out of which 74*s.* 6*d.* paid to divers mariners, called "shoutemen," for the carriage of 74 loads of timber from the wood of Wildwode, carried from Weybridge to the Manor of the Savoye, by the river Thames, carriage at 12*d.* a load; and 17*s.* 6*d.* for drawing the said 74 loads of timber from the showte, from the bridge into divers places within the Manor aforesaid, this year; and paid for 2,000 sheaves of reeds, bought for covering the said timber there, 20*s.* 1*d.*; and for the hire of two horses to Weybridge, to survey the timber 12*d.*; and 12*d.* paid divers men, for raising and turning the timber there to see the "scores"; and 12*d.* for the expenses of the accomptant and his servant, and their two horses there.

"Costs of the Walls.

"And paid to divers labourers, for making two perches of the wall on the west side of the garden, called "mud-wall," between the Savoye and the inn of the Bishop of Carlisle, each perch at 9*s.*, 18*s.*; and paid for covering ten perches of a certain old wall, on the same western side, at 18*d.* a perch, 15*s.*—Memorandum, for the Steward to inquire whether the burden of making this wall of right belongs to the Lord, or not.

"Necessary expenses.

"And paid for making of one hundred and a half and 24 pounds, at 2*d.* a pound, of new iron, for hinges and hooks, and other reparations, bought and made for the new gates for the Manor of the Savoye, in this year, 32*s.*; and paid for one lock with a key, bought for the new gates, 12*d.*; and paid for the carriage of two "traves" for imposts, from the inn of the Lord of Holborn to the Manor of the Lord of Savoye, 12*d.* with the help of the carpenters; and in sawing 25 feet of timber into 400 feet of boards, above sold by the hundred 12*d.* by contract, 4*s.*; and also for colour, called ochre, and cole to use with the same, for the aforesaid gates, 3*s.*; and for the wages of a man for two days, for the working and putting up the said gates, by contract, 12*d.*

"Costs of Repairs of Houses of Tenants of the Lord.

"And for the wages of one carpenter, working upon and amending carpenter's work defective in four messuages opposite the Savoye, and other necessaries within the Savoye, for seven days, at 6*d.* a day, 3*s.* 6*d.*; and for nails bought for the aforesaid

work, 18*d.*; and paid for four loads of earth, called loam, for making and amending the walls and partitions of the said four messuages, 16*d.*; and paid for two cart-loads of lime, bought for the said work, 2*s.*; and paid for the carriage of tables and forms from the inn of the Lord of Holborn to the Manor of the Lord of Savoye, 20*d.*, with the carriage of a large standard for dressing wax, and other wooden necessaries."

Accomptant's Wages, as in former Accompt; then

"Buying and making up of iron for the Windows towards the East.

"And reckons for 82lbs. of iron, bought and worked into the form of a lattice, and placed in the wall of the aforesaid tower, inclosing the window towards the east, for the safe keeping of the prisoners in the same tower, at 2*d.* the pound, 13*s.* 8*d.*"

SAVOYE.

Compoť Johis Ekleston, janitoris ibm, et ballivi feodoř et libtatis de Savoye, Ville Westm̃, a festo Annunč be Marie, anno ř R' Riči sčdi xvj°. usq idm fm̃ anno ejusdm Regis xvij°. p lr̃as dñi patenť dať apud Cales sčdo die Aprił, anno xvj^mo^. sup hunc compoť ostenš duratuř ad volunť dñi.

Redd Asš.

Idm ř de ij^s^. iij^d^. de Redd Asš teñ Johis Prust, solvend ad iiij^or^ anni ꝑminos vid An. be Marie, Nať Sči Johis Bapte, Sči Michis, et Natať Dñi, equalit, inf^a^ tpus compi ut in annis pcedñ. Et de ij^s^. iij^d^. de consiłi Redd Asš teñ Robi Grave solvend ad eosdm ꝑios inf'a ipus compi. Et de xij^s^. de consiłi Reddit Asš teñ Johis Carpent solvend ad eosdm ꝑios. Et de j^d^. de Redd Asš teñ Johis Stygeyn solvend ad ꝑios pdict. D' iiij^li^. xiij^s^. iiij^d^. de Redd xiiij shop nup Manet de Savoye annex p quałt shopa p annū iiij ꝑmis vj^s^. viij^d^. nichil hīc q combust fuerunt tempe Rumoris, et non reedificant adhuc.

Sm̃^a^ xvj^s^. vij^d^.

Firme.

Et de xiij^s^. iiij^d^. de Firma uni^s^ mes de iiij^or^ mes exoppoio dict maner s^c^ dī hoc anno que quidm iiij^or^ mes pdča dimiss fuerunt in anno pcedñ p liij^s^. iiij^d^. Et de iij^s^. viij^d^. de uno ał mes pdčoř iiij^or^ mes sic dī hoc anno et non plus q stetit vač p residuū anni p def'cū conduct. Et de vj^s^. viij^d^. de pciō mes pdict iiij^or^ mes sic dī hoc anno et non plus q stetit vač p residuū anni causa pdča. Et de vj^s^. viij^d^. de quarto mes pdict

iiij^{or} mes sic dī hoc anno. et non plus causa pdca. Et de xx^{d}. de uno gardino anneā pdicī iiij^{or} mes sic dī hoc anno. D' ij shop utq ad x^{s}. et j ad iiij^{s}. del *schoprent* p annū ī pdicī n' q̄ combusī fuerunt ut sup^{a} et nondū reedificant'.

Sma xxxij^{s}.

Pquis Cur'.

Et de lxix^{s}. ix^{d}. de pquis cur tenī ibm hoc anno p tpus compi viz. unis cur tenī ibm die Martī px post fm Sci Georgii anno xvj^{o} inf^{a} tpus compi xvj^{s}. et alīs cur tenī ibm die lune px ante fm Aploī Siois et Jude anno xvij^{o} conī lij^{s}. x^{d}. inf^{a} tpus compi put patet p Rot Cur cū forisfcur unis equi pc xviij^{s}. et cū at pva cur conī xj^{d}.

Sm^{a} lxix^{s}. ix^{d}.

Exit^{a} Maner'.

Et de xiij^{s}. iiij^{d} de pficuis et frucī gardini inf^{a} Manerī pdcm sic dimiss hoc anno. D' xvij^{d}. de fructu et h'bag unis gardini ex^{a} Manerī pdcm jux^{a} pdict' iiij^{or} mes nec de ij^{s}. de frucī et h'bagio alīs gardini nichil hic q̄ dimitī supis inī firmas p xx^{d} hoc anno. D' vagis et exhur cataff forinsec' deo danī nil hic hoc anno ult^{a} xviij^{s}. de j equo supis oñaī inī pquis' cur. D' uno veti batello pvcient' de wrecco, nec de j gladio pveient' de Stgo ñl hic q̄ rem in man' ipius computī nondū appciaī Ideo ī in anno seq'.

Sma xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Vendic' merem' de Bosco de Wilde Wode.

Et de xxxviij^{s} de iiij plaustr et xvij ped merem vocaī *lodes* vendiī dño Joh̄i Heneley, clico, in grosso. Et de xvij^{s}. iiij^{d}. rec de ij at plaustr et vij ped merem vocaī *lodes* sic vendit' in grosso Epo Dunolm. Et de xij^{s} rec de Edo Bys p j lod et dī et j pede sic sibi vendit' in gross' hoc anno. Et de lx^{s}. rec de Elemosinar Sci Pauli p vij lod et dī sic sibi vendit' in grosso. Et de xliij^{s}. rec de Custod^{bus} Ecclie Sci Egidii ex^{a} Creplegate iiij *lodes* dī sic sibi vendit' in grosso. Et de ix^{s}. rec de Joh̄e Butiler p j lod v ped merem sic sibi vēdit' in grosso. Et de lx^{s}. rec de ix *lodes* mem vendit' ut ex^{a} Magro Henr Bowet, Arch Lincoln.

Sma xii^{li}. iiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Vendic vet merem' ibm.

Et de xl^{s}. rec de Joh̄e Walworth p quadm porcoe vetis merem sibi vendiī in grosso rem inf̄r Manerī pdictū post combustionē tempe Rumoris.

Sma xl^{s}.

Vend bord de Bosco de Wildewode.

Et de xxv^{s} rec de Edo Bys, p M^{l} ped bordar sic sibi vend in grosso. Et de xxv^{s} rec de Doncastr, carpent, p M^{l} ped bord sic sibi in gross vendit. Et de xvij^{s}. vj^{d}. p vij C ped vendit in grosso pfat dño Johi Henley. Et de vj^{s}. iij^{d}. de ccl pedib^{s} bord vendit in gross cuidm at hõi.

Sma lxxiij^{s}. ix^{d}.

Vendic' Lath de pdict bosco.

Et de xl^{s}. p xijM lath in grosso vendit. Et de xxxv^{s}. de vijM lath sic vendit in grosso.

Sm lxxv^{s}.

Virid cera cũ Amc marcalc.

Et de viij^{s}. vj^{d}. de Exit viridis cere put cont in iiij pvis Ro^{l} libat ipi comput p año uno pced. Et de xiij^{s}. vj^{d}. de amciam dvsor teneñ dñi residend inf' libtat dñi de Savoie amciat corã señ et ctico Marescalc dñi Reg hoc a^{o} sic oñat p quendm cedulã de nõib^{s} eordm sup hunc compot libat. Et de xviij^{d}. de at minut amciam de tenent dñi qui ptinent ad Cur dñi de Savoie que non continent in Ro^{l} pdict.

Sm^{a} xxiij^{s}. vj^{d}.

Sm^{a} totalis Re^{te} xxix^{li}. viij^{s}. iij^{d}.

Cariag merem cũ stipñ sarrat.

D' quib^{s} computat solut p cariagio pdict ccxlvij *lodes* merem carial p aquã Themes usq Maner de Savoie p quol^{t} lod xij^{d}. xij^{li} vij^{s}. q in compo pdci Robi gen^{l} Rec. Et in div^{s} custub^{s} et expñ et solucõib^{s} fact ad tractand et importand pdcũ merem de aqua de Themes usq inf Maner pdict de Savoie liij^{s}. x^{d}. put pat p pcell sup hunc compot exarat. Et in stipend iiij^{or} laborat important bord et lath de ponte ibm usq *le Cloister* inf' Maner ibm p ij dies quolt p die v^{d}., iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Et in stipñ ij sarrat sarrant merem p *walplates* et *bemes*, et *plaunchborde* et *plegges*, et at merem p portis Maner vsus via faciend p xiiij dies vi^{d}. p die, int se xiiij^{d}. xvj^{s}. xj^{d}. D' pstracõe et scapulat et cariagio merem pdci de bosco de Wildewode p tram usq aquã Themes nichil hic quia in compot pdci Robi de Whitby genat Rec.

Sm^{a} xvj^{li}. xiij^{d}.

Cust Turr voc *Symeon Toure.*

Et in stipendio j carpentar existent circa pdict' Turrim Symeon faciend ut in car-

pentria viz. in hostiis et fenestr̃ et at̃ nečiis ibm p xv dies p die vj^{d}. vij^{s}. vj^{d}. Et in cl *sakes* calceti empt̃ in grosso p pdčo op̃e dče turris ix^{s}. Et in vC claũ empt̃ p pdča turre c ad vj^{d}. ij^{s}. vj^{d}. Et in vC *latthnail* empt̃ p op̃e pdčo c ad ij^{d}. x^{d}. Et in M^{l} claũ empt̃ p *le flore* et *steyre* dče turris c ad vj^{d}. v^{s}. Et in vC claũ empt̃ p *le roef* pdče turr̃ c ad v^{d}. ij^{s}. j^{d}. Et in *estrichbord* empt̃ p eadm turr̃ ut p fenestr̃ et *legges* ij^{s}. Et in iiijC claũ empt̃ p pdict̃ fenestris et at̃ neččiis ibm faciend c ad iij^{d}. xij^{d}. Et in iijC claũ empt̃ p plũbo sup turrim c ad iiij^{d}. xvj^{d}. Et in stip̃ñ uni^{s} plom̃e conduct̃ in grosso ad coopiend dict̃ turrim p coñ secũ fact̃ xxiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Et in bosco empt̃ ad fundend plũbũ p cooptura pdict̃ tr̃^{s} ij^{s}. Et in stip̃ñ unius svient̃ ad portandũ plũbũ de fundo sup̃ turrim p v dies capient̃ p die v^{d}. p̃t̃ j^{d}. in to^{o} ij^{s}. Et in stipendio Johis Teffs cementar̃ op̃ant̃ ibm circa dict̃ turrim faciend p xxxix dies p die vj^{d}. xix^{s}. vj^{d}. Et in stipend unius svient̃ ejusdm cementar̃ p op̃e pdči p xxxiv dies p die iiij^{d}. xj^{s}. iiij^{d}. Et in ij *stoklokkes* p ij hostiis pdče turr̃ empt̃ xx^{d}. Et in ij *hangelokes* p pdča turre xvj^{d}. Et p *haspes* et *staples* empt̃ p pdča turre vj^{d}. Et in stipend Thome Cone, carpentar̃, p repac̃ pdče turris, viz. p *le roef* et *le flore*, et p fc̃ura de nouo magñ portar̃ vsus viã pdči Maner̃ ex coñ secũ fact̃ in grosso lxvj^{s}. viij^{d}. Et in j cord empt̃ ad sursũ tractand merem̃ sup̃ turr̃ ij^{s}. ij^{d}. Et in viij carect̃ zabuloñ cũ cariag̃ ejusdm p pdče turre ij^{s}. viij^{d}. Car̃ ad iiij^{d}.

Sm̃^{a} viij^{li}. ij^{s}. iij^{d}.

Cust̃ Wat̃gate cũ at̃ neččiis expens.

Et in stip̃ñ Stephi Lete, cement̃, rep̃ant̃ et emendat̃ *le Watregate* de Savoie pdict̃ p' ij dies p die vj^{d}. xij^{d}. Et in una petra cũ calcet̃ empt̃ ad idm iij^{s}. vj^{d}. Et in stip̃ñ j labor̃ existñ inf^{a} pdčũ Maner̃ et laborant̃ ibm circa factã de *aleys* in gardino et fodient̃ p plũbo et p *floretiele* p xl dies p die v^{d}. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}. Et in stip̃ñ alt̃ĩ labor̃ p consiti op̃e et sitit̃ em̃ndant̃ fundũ p̃dče turris, et at̃ dom̃ inf^{a} Maner̃ ibm p xxxvij dies p die iiij^{d}. xij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Et in factura uni^{us} haie facte in defenso unius gardini dñi ex opposito pdči Maner̃ de Savoie ex coñ fact̃ in grosso x^{s}. Et in j *welbargh* empt̃ p stauro Maner̃ xij^{d}. Et in vanga cũ j *shouell* empt̃ p neččiis Maner̃ xij^{d}. Et in j *mattoks* empt̃ p opib^{s} Maner̃ xvj^{d}. Et in stip̃ũ j labor̃ op̃ant' inf^{a} gardinũ et inundant̃ *les aleys* ibm p xx dies p die iiij^{d}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. Mens̃ ffebr̃i et Mar̃t anno xvij^{mo}.

Sm̃^{a} liij^{s}. vj^{d}.

Et in vad ip̃ius comput̃ a sc̃do die Apr̃it usq̃ finẽ hujus com̃pi p lr̃as pateñ ut sup^{a} p iijClvj dies, viz. p tp̃us com̃pi capient̃ p die ij^{d}. lix^{s}. ij^{d}. Et in pgameno empt' p Ro^{l} Cur̃ et at̃ p̃rib^{s} pcell̃ scribend viij^{d}. Et in stipendio ctici sc̃bend compotũ et plures pcell̃ ejusdm iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Sm̃^{a} lxiij^{s}. ij^{d}.

Sm̃a expens' et lib̃at' xxxll.

Et sic excedit xjs. ixd.

Qm allocr̃ ei in pede p̃x compi sui subseq̃ñ put patet ib̃m. Et sic eq̃.

[Sup' hoc petit allocr̃ de divsis svic̃ put patet in quad' c'dula huic consuta.]

CEDULA.

Item pet' allocr̃ dñi Johis Wellyngburn, p merciament' Cur̃ q̃ nl est in Batt. iijs. iiid.

Item pet' de Johe Saltby, p mciament' q̃ non est infa ballm iijs. iiijd.

Itm de Johe Foxley, q̃ non est infa balliṽm ñc fuit arr' xxd.

Itm de Johe Blake, q̃ non fuit arr' ñc habet in batta, xijd.

Itm de Alic̃ Tue, q̃ mortua et nl h̃et, xviijd.

Itm de Ep̃o de Rochr̃, q̃ dicit q̃d non solebat solucr̃ añ hoc, iijs.

Itm de Helena Huxstere, q̃ non est in batt, iijd.

Itm de Edwardo Ferrors, q̃ est comorand cũ dño meo, ijd.

Itm de Johe Wynchecombe, q̃ est in svicr̃ dñi Regis, ijd.

Compot̃ Johis Ekleston, Ballivi de Savoie, a fõ Añunciacõis b̃te Marie anno Rs Ric̃i sc̃di post conq̃m xvj usq̃ id̃m fm̃ anno ejusd̃m Regis xvij p annũ integrũ a die post Johem Fish, nup ballivũ ib̃m.

Compot' Johis Ekleston, Janitoris de Savoye de temp̃e quo infa.

Merem̃.

Id̃m r̃ de ijC xxxvij plaustratr̃ et xxxv ped̃ merem̃ vocatr̃ *lodes*, quolt *lode* cont' xl ped̃ quadratr̃ venient' de bosco de Wildewode emptr̃ de execut' Willi Croiser, et cariat' p aquam Themes usq̃ Manerr̃ nr̃m de Savoie apud London, et recr̃ ib̃m de divsis marinar' vocatr̃ *botemen* divisim p divsas vices put patet p xij divsas tall fact' intr̃ ip̃m comput' et marinar̃ et *botemen* p̃dictr̃ sup hunc compot' ostens et exar̃atr̃ rem̃ vsus ip̃m comput' p temp̃e quousq̃, &c.

Sm̃a ijC xxxvij plaustr̃ et xxxv pedes merem̃.

Inde in expñ et cust' inf' dc̃m Manerr̃ de Savoie fact' p uno turr̃ vocatr̃ *Symeon Tore* et p al nec̃c̃iis dñi infa pr̃dict̃ Manerr̃ faciend xv lode viij ped̃. Et in vendic̃oe ut infa in denar̃ xxj lod' x ped̃ de pcepto dñi et consil' sui p cariagio faciend p p̃co

merem̃ cariand' ut infa. Et in vendic̃ sīlīt in fine istius comp̃i Henr̃ Broet, Arch̃ Lincoln̄, ix lod̄ merem̃ p̃dc̃i.

Sm̃a xlv lod̄. xviij ped̄.

Et rem̃ ciiij^{xx}xij lod̄. xvij ped̄.

Lath.

Et de xxiiij M^{l} ix lath pveīent' de bosco sup̃dict̃ infa cariag̃ de ix lodes rec̃ modo et causa sup̃dict'. Sm̃a patet.

Inde in expn̄ ad usū dn̄i p turr̄ p̃dict' c lath. Et in vendic̃ ut inf' xix M^{l} lath de p̃cepto dn̄i et consil̄ sui ut supa. Sm̃a xix M^{l}c lath.

Et rem̃ v M^{l}.viij^{c} lath.

Bord̄.

Et de iiij M^{l}.v C.l ped̄ bord̄ pveīent' de bosco sup̃dict̃ inf' cariagiū de ix lod̄ supdict rec̃ modo et causa sup̃dict. Sm̃a patet.

Inde in divsis expens̄ custuba fact̃ infa Manerī dn̄i sup̃dict̃ p p̃dict̃ turre ib̄m vj ped̄ *bordes*. Et in vendic̃oe ut infa M^{l}.ix C.l ped̄ bordar̄ de p'cepto dn̄i et consil̄ sui ut sup̃. Sm̃a que sa.

Et nichil rem̃.

Plūbū.

Memo̅ de cccxxiiij *lodes* meremii amputat' in bosco de Wyldewod, et cariat' usq̄ Weybrugge hoc anno xvijo unde cariant̄ usq̄ Maneriū de Savoye p aquam Themes ccxlvij *lodes* ut sup̃. Et rem̃ apud Weybrugge sup quendm solū ib̄m lxxiiij lodes dī viij ped̄ mensurat' &c. put testat' p Johem Ekleston existent' ib̄m mense Aprīl ao xvij. Et sic deficiunt ij lod̄ xij ped̄ unde r̄ *le scorer* et *le carier*, et al̄ ministr̄ ib̄m.

Ītm memo̅ de dc̃tis lodis adhuc rem̃ in bosco non cariat̄ &c. unde inquirend̄ est diligent̄ quot̄ lod̄ rem̃ ib̄m. Ītm in divsis locis p viā. Et postea venit Walt̄us Atte Cherte, custos dc̃i bosci, et certificabat sup̄ compotū die Sab̄ti quarto die Aprīl ao xvijo q̄d rem̃ ib̄m in dicto bosco vxx & ix *lodes* tam de m̃emio empt̄ de Thoma Sperman, qam de m̃emio pstrat̄ p dm̄ū tempore suo. Et id̄m Walt̄us dicit qd similit̄ rem̄ p viam apud Grenedenne ij *lodes*.

Ītm memo̅ qd deficiunt de m̃emio cariat̄ et testato p Simonem Scorier iij *lodes* m̃emii put comp'tū fuit p examinac̃oem tal̄ sup̄ compotū p̃dc̃o die in cariand̄ p aquam p Johem Hacher de Kyngeston, un' r̄ ac eo qd non lib̄at̄ fuerunt p̃dc̃o comput̄.

SAVOYE.

Compoť Johis Ekleston, Janitoris ibm et balli ffeodoꝝ et libtatis de Savoie, ville Westm̃, a fo Anunc̃ be Marie anno r. R. Ric̃i sc̃di xvij° usq̃ idem fm̃ anno ejusdem Regis xviij° p unū annū integrū.

Redd̃ Ass.

Idm r̃ de ij^{s}. iij^{d}. de redd̃ ass teñ Johis Prust solvend ad iiij^{or} anni t̃mios viz. Añ be Marie, Nat̃ Sc̃i Johis Bapte, Sc̃i Michis, & Natat̃ Dñi equalit̃ infra tempus compi ut in anñ pcedeñ. Et de ij^{s}. iij^{d}. de consilti redd̃ ass teñ Robi Grane solvend ad eosdm t̃ios infra t̃pus compi. Et de xij^{s}. de consimili redd̃ ass teñ Johis Carpent̃ solvend ad eosdm t̃mios. Et de j^{d}. de redd̃ ass teñ Johis Stygeñ solvend ad t̃mios pdict̃. D' iiij^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. de redd̃ xiiij shopū nup manet̃ de Savoie annex̃ p quat̃ shopa vj^{s}. viij^{d}. nichil hic q̃ combusta fuerunt tempe Rumoris & non reedificant̃ adhuc, &c.

Sm̃ xvj^{s}. vij^{d}.

Firme.

Et de xiij^{s}. iiij.^{d} de firma uni Mes de iiij^{or} Mes ex oppoto dicti Manet̃ sic dimiss hoc anno que quidm iiij^{or} Mes pdic̃ dimiss fuerunt in anñ pcedñ p liij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Et de vj^{s}. viij^{d}. de uno alio Mes pdc̃oꝝ iiij^{or} Mes sic dī hoc anno et non plus q̃ stetit vacuum p residuum anni p defc̃ū conduct̃. Et de ij^{s}. de t̃cio Mes pdc̃oꝝ iiij^{or} Mes sic dimiss hoc anno & non plus quia stetit vac̃ p residuū anni cā pdict̃. Et de iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. de quarto Mes pdict' iiij^{or} Mes sic dimiss hoc anno et non plus causa pdc̃a. Et de iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. de uno gardino annex̃ pdict' iiij^{or} Mess sic dī hoc anno. D' ij shopis utraq̃ ad x^{s}. et j ad iiij^{s}. del Schoprent p annū t̃ pdict' nt̃ q̃ combust' fuerunt ut sup^{a} & nondum reedificant'.

Sm̃^{a} xxviij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Exit Manet̃.

Et de xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. de fruct̃ & pficuis gardini infra maneriū pdictū sic dimiss hoc anno. Et de iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. de uno vet̃i batello pvc̃ient' de Wrec̃ rem̃ anno pcedeñ. Et de xx^{d}. de j. gladio pvc̃ient de forisfc̃ura sic vendit. D' ij batell pvc̃ient de forisfc̃ura de novo hoc a° quoꝝ j. *Dongebote* vocat *Shoute* nt̃ hic q̃ nondū appc̃ set

rem⁹ in custodia ipius computant'. D' vag & extᵃhur nec de at forᵗ nt hic hoc aᵒ pt quod on⁹ int Pquis⁹ Cur. D' merem' vetis port⁹ ad introitū Manerr non r q non vend⁹ ideo r in anno seqn.

Smᵃ xviijˢ. iiijᵈ.

Vendic⁹ Meremij &c. & bordar.

Et de lxxvjˢ. vjᵈ. rec⁹ de Johe Butiler p ix lod dī iij ped Meremii sibi vendit hoc anno &c. Et de xvijˢ. rec⁹ de Magro Henr Bowet p ij *lodes* xvij ped Meremij sibi vendit⁹. Et de lviijˢ. iiijᵈ. rec⁹ p vij lod iiij ped Merem Ecclie Sci Clement⁹ exᵉ templebarr sic vendit⁹ hoc anno. Et de xlijˢ. rec⁹ de Rico Comando⁹ p v *lodes* vj ped Merem sic sibi vendit⁹ hoc anno. Et de xˢ. rec⁹ de Robto de Whitteby, clico, p iiijC pedibz bordar sic sibi vendit⁹ hoc anno &c. quod quidm Merem supᵃdict⁹ vend⁹ p supvisū Thome Cornes, carpentar.

Smᵃ xˡⁱ. iijˢ. xᵈ.

Pquis Cur⁹ cū fin & forᵗ'.

Et on⁹at' de cˢ. de fine Thome Shrowesbury p una escapura de prisona Dni infra Manerr de Savoye hoc anno qui fecit feloniā occidendo quendam hoiem infra libtatē Dni de Savoye hoc anno.

Et de iiijˡⁱ. xvijˢ. xᵈ. de pquis vj cur tent⁹ ibm hoc anno p temp⁹ compi ut patet p Rotᵐ Cur ibm hoc anno unde de bonis & catall Johis Barnabe xxxˢ. Et de bonis & catall Willi Bromlee xxˢ.

Sm ixˡⁱ. xvijˢ. xᵈ.

Amciam Marescalc.

Et de xixˢ. xᵈ. de amciam divsoz de Marescalc hoc anno ut patet p unā cedulā de noib sup hunc compotū ostens et exarat' unde onat se gtis &c.

Sm xixˢ. xᵈ.

Exit⁹ Virid Cere.

Et de xxiiijˢ. vᵈ. de exit⁹ virid cere forᵗ coram Baron Sccij fin & exit⁹ de banco. Exit et amciam coram Rege ut patet p exct' dict' Sccij sub div tituł divsoz annoz Regis nunc p Attorā Dni libat⁹ de alloc Dno fact⁹ sup Compot⁹ Vic London in dco Sccio computant⁹ int⁹ fm Michis aᵒ xvjᵒ & idm fm anno xvijᵒ et que exct⁹ libant⁹ isti computant⁹ ad execucoem levacois summe pdce faciend sup isto compo.

Sm xxiiijˢ. vᵈ.

Sm tot Reᵗᵉ xxvˡⁱ. ixˢ. vjᵈ.

Cariagiū Merem̄ de Wyldewod.

D' quibꝫ computat' lxxiiij^{s}. vj^{d}. solut' divsis marinar̄ vocat' *Shoutemen*, p cariagio de lxxiiij lod. di. meremij de bosco de Wildewode cariat' de Weybrugge usq; Maneriū de Savoye p aquam Themes cariagiū ad xij^{d}. Et xvij^{s}. vj^{d}. ad tractand [& cuband*] dict' lxxiiij lod. di. merem̄ de *le showte* a ponte in divsa loca infra Man'iū de Savoye pdict' hoc anno. Et sol p M^{l}M^{l} garb de *reede* empt' p cooptura dc̄i merem̄ ibm xx^{s}. j^{d}. Et in ij equis conduct' versus Weybrug ad supvidend merem̄ xij^{d}. Et xij^{d}. solut' divsis hōibꝫ ad levand & revtend merem̄ ibm ad videnda *les scores*. Et xij^{d}. in expn̄ isti' comput' & svient' sui & ij equoꝫ suoꝫ ibm.

Rem̄ nondum coopt' quousq; merem̄ cubet.

Sm̄ cxiiij^{s}. j^{d}.

Custus Muroꝫ.

Et solut' divsis laborar̄ p factur̄ ij pticat' muri ex pte occiden̄ gardini vocat' *mudwall* int' Savoie & hospit' Epi de Carlehull pticat' ad ix^{s}. xviij^{s}. Et solut' p cooptura x p̄ticat' cujusdam vet̄is muri ex ead^{m} pte occident' perticat' ad xviij^{d}. xv^{s}.

Sm̄ xxxiij^{s}.

Md ad Sen̄ ad inquir̄ si Dño ptineat onus facture isti' muri de jure vel non, &c.

Nec̄ie expn̄.

[Et in stipendio unius hōis ad mundand gardinū & *les aleys* existent' ibm p xl dies p diem v^{d}. ad c̄as xvj^{s}. viij^{d}.†] Et solut' p factura de c & d̄i xxiiijlib tb ad ij^{d}. ferri novi p *henges* & *hokes* & at repatu empt' & fact' p novis portis Manei̇̄ de Savoye hoc anno xxxij^{s}. Et sol p j sera cū clave empt' p eisdem portis xij^{d}. Et solut' p cariagio de ij *traves* p *justes* de hospicio Dñi de Holbo'ne usq; Manei̇̄ Dñi de Savoye xij^{d}. cum auxilio carpentar̄. Et in sarrac' xxv pedū merem̄ in iiijC pedes bordaꝫ supi' vendit' p C^{na} xij^{d}. ex convenc̄ iiij^{s}. Et p colore voc' *ocur* & *cole* ad tempand cū eodem p pdict̄ port̄ iij^{s}. Et in stipend uni' hōis p ij dies p opac̄one & supposic̄oe in dict̄ port̄ p con̄ xij^{d}.

Sm̄ xlij^{s}.

* Erased in the original.

† These words are erased in the original, "quia sup'ius ad firmam, quare D'n's non tenet', &c."

Cusꝑ repaꝛ Domoꝫ tenend Dñi ad firmā.

Et in stipendio unius carpentar̃, opanꝑ & emendanꝑ opus carpentar̃ defectū iiij^{or} mes̃ ex oppoīo Savoie & at neccia infra Savoye p vij dies p die vj^{d}. iij^{s}. vj^{d}. Et in clavis empꝑ p ope pdco xviij^{d}. Et solut̃ p iiij carectatis ꝑre voc̃ *loome* p factura & emendac̃ prietū & muroꝫ dict̃ iiij^{or} mesuag̃ xvj^{d}. Et solut̃ p ij carectatis calcet̃ empꝑ p ope pdco ij^{s}. Et solut̃ p cariagio tabulaꝫ & formuloꝫ de hospicio Dñi de Holbo'ne usq; Manet̃ Dñi de Savoye xx^{d}. cū cariag̃ uni^{9} standerd grosꝑ p cera dresso' & at ligneis neccīis.

Sm̃. x^{s}.

Vadia.

Et in vadiis istius computantis p annū p tempus comp̃i cap̃ p die ij^{d}. lx^{s}. viij^{d}. p concesꝑ suā put allocat̃ est, &c. Et in pgameno empꝑ p Ro^{l} Cur̃ & isto compoto scribend viij^{d}. Et in stipendio clici scribentis hunc compotum & at pcellas ejusdem iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. [put alloc̃ est, &c.]

Sm̃. lxiiij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Empc̃o & factur̃ ferr̃ p fenestr̃ ꝑris versus occid.

Et computat̃ p iiij^{xx}ijꝑ ferri empꝑ & opat̃ in modū & formā uni^{9} *latys* & in murū ejusdem turris posit̃ includentis fenestram versus orientē ad sufficientē custodiam incarcerat̃ in eadm turre p ꝑ ij^{d}. xiij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Sm̃ xiij^{s}. viij^{d}.

Sm̃ oīm expensꝑ xiij^{li}. xvij^{s}. v^{d}.

Et debet̃ xj^{li}. xij^{s}. j^{d}. D' quibꝫ alloc̃ ei xj^{s}. ix^{d}. de supplus comp̃i sui anni p̃x pcedñ ut patet in pede ejusdm. Et debet̃ xj^{li}. iiij^{d}. Et postea on̄at̃ de mandato consilii Dñi de ix^{li}. ix^{d}. de ar̃r Johis Fissh nup balli ibm de comp̃ suo de annū xv^{o} & xvj^{o} Dño solvend p manucapcōem Johis Emond Señ de Savoye, Willi Peche, Johis Ekleston, Ade Pollard, & Willi Kighley, put notat̃ in Indentur̃ de ar̃r Ministroꝫ Dñi de qua sm̃ Thomas de Skelton, Chr̃, Capit̃ Señ, sibi libavit ex̄cet̃ cū at sūmis ar̃r balliosꝫ de Savoy tempe Dñi p ip̃m levand. Et de xvj^{s}. de pte ar̃r Johis Shulton nup balli de Savoye ut in pdo bonoꝫ ip̃ius arestat̃ in domo sua et libat̃ postea p manuc̃ & secur̃ fact̃ ip̃i computꝑ. Et de residuo dict̃ sūmaꝫ de ar̃r content̃ in ex̄cet̃ pdci cap̃ Señ nondū on̄at̃ q; nescit̃ ubi possunt levari adhuc ut dicit tñ r̃ in anno seq̃ñ que quidm ex̄cet̃ sup hunc comp̃ ostensꝑ rem̄ vsus ip̃m computantem. Et sic debet̃ xx^{li}. xvij^{s}. j^{d}. D' quibꝫ solvit Johi Legbōne gen̄al Rec̃ dñi postea sup hunc

compotū ultimo die Februar̄ anno xviij° vj^{li}. iiij^{d}. Et sic debet adhuc xiiij^{li}. xvj^{s}. ix^{d}. Qui on̄ant in pr̄ compo suo in titulo de arr̄.

P qua sūma solvend̄ fecit secur̄ dño p obligacōem rem̄ penes eundem rec̄.

[On a Schedule.]

Novint univsi p psentes me Johem Legburn, gen̄alem Receptorem Dñi Johis Ducis Aquitanie & Lancastr̄, recepisse de Johe Eccleston, Ballivo de Savoy, sex libras & quatuor denar̄ st̄lingor̄ ut de exit̄ officij sui. De quib̄ quidem xj^{li}. iiij^{d}. pd̄cm Johem Eccleston, acquieto p psentes sigillo meo signat̄ Londoñ ultimo die Februar̄ anno regni Regis Ric̄i sc̄di post conquestum decimo octavo.

[In tergo.]

Compot̄ Johis Ekleston, ball̄i de Savoye, de anno xviij°.

R' in pr̄ Cōpot̄.

Ītm Memo^{d} de ij *lodes* merem̄ rem̄ p viam apud Grenedenne cariand̄ de inde usq; pdictū Maner̄ vel alias vendend̄ ad majus cōmodū Dñi. Et sup hoc r̄ inde in pr̄ comp̄.

Ītm Memo^{d} q̄d deficiunt de meremio cariat̄ et testat̄ p Simonem Scorier iij *lodes* merem̄ put comp̄tū fuit p exaīacōem tall̄ sup comp̄ quarto die Aprīl anno xvij°. in cariando p aquam p Johem Hachard de Kyngeston, unde r̄ &c. eo q̄d non lib̄at̄ fuerunt pd̄co computanti.

R' Johes Hachard vel ejus hered̄ vel execut̄ de pcio istor̄ iij lod̄.

Meremiū.

Ītm Johes r̄ de ciiij^{xx}xij *lodes* xvij ped̄ merem̄ de Wildewode de rem̄ anni pced̄ñ ut patet in ꝓgo ib̄m. Et de lxxiiij lod̄ dī de mer̄ veient̄ de rem̄ anni pced̄ñ apud Weybrugg hoc a° cariat̄ de ib̄m usq; Maner̄ de Savoye ut infra.

Sm̄ cclxvj lod̄ dī xvij ped̄.

D' quib3 vendunt ut infra xxiiij lod x ped. Et expendunt in j *mideltree* imposit in port Manet p longitud & p j *swaype* p eisdm xv ped. Et sarrat in div bordas vendit xxv ped.

Sm xxv lod x ped.

Et rem infra Maneriu cclxj lod di. vij ped.

Sub custod comput nondu cubat unde quodlibet *lode* cont xl ped quadrat.

Lathes.

Itm de vM^{l}viijC *latthes* de rem anni pceden ut patet in ego compi sui ibm.

Sm vM^{l}viijC.

Et rem vM^{l}viijC lathes.

X. *Extracts from a Manuscript containing Portions of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Lynn Regis, in Norfolk, from* 1430 *to* 1731, *taken from the Hall Books; communicated by* Hudson Gurney, *Esq. F.R.S., V.P. in a Letter addressed to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 8th March, 1832.

St. James's Square, March 5th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

My relation, Mr. Daniel Gurney, Fellow of the Society, having informed me that he had been entrusted with a Manuscript belonging to Mr. Lane, of Lynn Regis in Norfolk, which contained Extracts of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Lynn, from 1430 to 1731, shewing the municipal arrangements of that town for three centuries, and which gave a very curious account of the manner of their early elections of Burgesses in Parliament, I requested him to have the notices of these last copied for me; and as they appear to me of singular interest at the present time, when most of our old customs, with many of our ancient institutions, are becoming more and more rapidly matters of history, I send them to you, as I have received them, for communication to the Society.

The manuscript book from whence they are taken is a duodecimo, which appears, by the hand-writing, to have been commenced, and carried on to 1451, towards the end of the seventeenth century, and to have been continued to 1733 in a different character.

The records in the possession of the Corporation of Lynn are, I am told, somewhat imperfect from 1392 (15th Richard II.) to 1453 (32d Henry VI.), from which date they are perfect to the present day. They are in Latin to 1487 (4th Henry VII.), since which time they are in English.

The manuscript book in question must have been, therefore, in its earlier parts, a translation, probably made by some Town Clerk for his private use.

By the extract of the proceedings of April 13th, 1442, for the formation of a Committee of Eight Merchants for the redress of the grievances of the Eastland Trade, springing from the first two named by the Mayor in the presence of the "Congregation," it will be seen, that the manner of forming the jury for the election of Burgesses in Parliament, obtained also in other matters of public interest.

I am myself greatly inclined to suspect, that the jury principle of real or supposed unanimity, the agreement of bodies which were to decide, is to be found in all our ancient institutions, and that voting by the poll was of later introduction both in and out of Parliament.

This is strongly marked in the Section of the Modus Tenendi Parliamentum, "*De Casubus et Judiciis Difficilibus,*" a work of which the substantial authenticity appears to me to have been very unreasonably decried, of which many very ancient copies are extant, and among the latest, an illuminated one in the British Museum, belonging to William Caylowe, Justice of the Common Pleas, temp. Edward IV., and therefore nearly contemporary with these Lynn Returns.

It is there stated, that, if the Parliament cannot agree in the result of their deliberations, the Steward, the Constable, and the Marshall, being Earls, or two of them, shall choose a Committee of twenty-five from the various orders, with powers to delegate the consideration to successive Sub-committees, till the parties last referred to shall agree, and submit their decision to the approval of the Parliament and the King.

The form of calling for a division in the House of Commons seems to give no small colour to this hypothesis. The Speaker decides on acclamation: a poll is not demanded; but the Speaker's decision is met on the part of some individual Member, by a direct contradiction: and then the Speaker names Tellers.

The Parliaments of Henry VI. were very nearly annual; the Members for Lynn appear to have been for the most part Mayors of the Town, and to have been elected to that office very frequently the year after their having served in Parliament.

It should seem that the return of the Earl of Salisbury, in September 1649 (a writ appearing by the Journals to have been issued 22d June 1649, in the room of Edmund Hudson), was the first that had been made of an individual not either bearing office or being resident in the borough.

The word Commonalty now first occurs; but the Return was made by the Corporation in Oliver Cromwell's Parliament in 1654, of Major-General Philip Skippon, and Guybon Goddard, the Recorder. The Freemen at large obtained the power of Return, which they have since enjoyed, on the Restoration of Charles the Second, when it may be presumed that the Corporation was in no very good repute with the King's Government.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

HUDSON GURNEY.

To Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S.
Secretary S. A. &c. &c. &c.

EXTRACTS.

Sept. 29, 1430. Thomas Wursted, Mayor.

1430, Dec. 20. John Permonter and Thomas Salisbury, elected Burgesses to serve in Parliament.

1430-1, Jan. 3. Y^e^ Parliamentary Warrant under ye Common Seal was openly read.

Sept. 29, 1431. John Permonter, Mayor.

1432, April 9. Thomas Botesham and John Waterden, elected Burgesses to serve in Parliament.

May 7. Was sealed ye warrant for Burgesses of Parliament, which was openly read in ye mother tongue.

July 23. John Waterden reported ye transactions of Parliament, at which time was granted by the Corporation half a fifteenth, to be paid in at two

several payments; *viz.* at Martinmas next, and at Martinmas then next following. That ye Parliament held from ye xii^th^ day of May to Thursday next before ye feast of St. Margaret, on which day ye Parliament ended, and so ye Parliament held for lxx dayes. And so there is owing to them, for their appearance for lxxiii dayes, vi^s^ and viii^d^ for each day, of which they receiv'd before their journey or passage c^s^ and there remains xix^l^ vi^s^ viii^d^.

Sept 21. Afterwards the Mayor and Twenty-four entered ye Chamber, and in in ye room or place of Bartholomew Pettipas, and Philip Frank lately deceas'd, chose John Waterden and John Boucher into ye Twenty-four.

Sept. 29, 1432. John Brekupp, Mayor.

1433, June 17. The King's Writ was then publickly read for electing Members of Parliament. And for electing them, ye Mayor called two of ye Twenty-four, and two of ye Common Council, which four chose two more of ye Twenty-four, and two of ye Common Council, and they chose four others, who all unanimously chose John Waterden and Thomas Spicer to be Burgesses in Parliament.

July 1. Then also was seal'd ye warrant for the Burgesses of Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1433. Thomas Botesham, Mayor.

Sept. 29, 1434. Thomas Burgh, Mayor.

1435, Sept. 22. Thomas Bnrgh and Richard Frank elected Members of Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1436. William Palmer, Mayor.

1436-7, Jan. 7. John Ashden and John Syff of ye Twenty-four, John Adams and Bartholomew Colles of ye Common Council, were called by ye Mayor, by ye assent of ye whole congregation, who called Edward Mayne and John Spryngewell, and they called Galfrid Gatele and John Mariat, and ye foresaid eight called William Kyrketon and Thomas Lok, and ye foresaid ten called Thomas Talbot and Martin Wrighte, which twelve were charged, (being sworn according to custom to preserve ye liberty of ye town) to chuse two Burgesses for ye borough of Lyn, to go to Parliament on the 21st day of

January next ensuing, to be held at Cambridge or London, according to ye form of ye writ lately delivered to ye Mayor aforesaid. They chose Burgesses for the said Parliament, Thomas B rgh, John Warryn.

Jan. 16. The same day was sealed, under the common seal, a letter, for ye authority of John Warryn and Thomas Burgh, Burgesses of Parliament.

Feb. 20. The same day was read a letter, sent to ye Mayor by ye Burgesses of Lyn remaining in Parliament for ye said town, which letter being fully understood, it was appointed, by the assent of ye whole congregation, y^t an answer should be returned to ye said letter by the Mayor aforesaid, under ye seal of ye office of Mayoralty of Lyn.

1437, April 4. The same day Thomas Burgh and John Warryn, Burgesses of ye last Parliament for Lyn, did well and discreetly declare those things which were substantially done and acted for ye Mayor aforesaid, in ye Parliament aforesaid.

Sept. 29, 1437. THOMAS SALESBURY, Mayor.

Sept. 29, 1439. HENRY THORISBY, Mayor.

1439, Nov. 4. Thomas Burgh and Thomas Salesbury, chosen Burgesses to serve in Parliament, which is to meet on Nov. 12 following.

Nov. 6. The same day a letter for ye authority of ye Burgesses of Parliament newly elected, made to our Lord ye King, pass'd under ye common seal, and ye said letter was delivered to ye Burgesses aforesaid.

The same day also was delivered to ye Burgesses aforesaid, chosen for ye said Parliament, ye charter of ye liberty of this town, made in the time of King Henry the Fourth, and granted to ye Burgesses and inhabitants of ye said town, to ye intent y^t ye said liberty by our Lord ye King ought now to be confirmed, if by ye advice of ye said Burgesses of Parliament it can conveniently be done.

Sept. 29, 1440. JOHN ASHENDEN, Mayor.

1441, July 28. The said day Walter Curson was questioned why he did not pay his rent of xxvi^s and viii^d for ii shops which he held of the Mayor and Corporation in the Grassmarket of this town; and the said Walter then

answered, y^t he would be govern'd in this matter by ye form of ye indentures seal'd with ye seal of ye Corporation.

Sept. 29, 1441. SIMON SCOTLAND, Mayor.

1441-2, Jan. 10. The same day by authority of the King's Writ, by ye Sheriff of Norfolk directed to the Mayor, Burgesses were chosen for Parliament to sit at Westminster on Saint Paul's day next ensuing. And ye two members chosen were Richard Frank and Walter Curson.

And it was ye same day also ordered, by ye assent of ye whole congregation, y^t ye Burgesses chosen for Parliament shall be allowed each of them two shillings a day and by no means any more.

Jan. 26. Also ye same day, by assent of ye congregation, ye Charter of ye liberties of ye town was deliver'd to Richard Frank, in order to get the said Charter confirmed.

Feb. 16. Memorandum:—y^t Walter Curson, one of ye Burgesses of Parliament, set forward on his journey to Parliament, ye 22d day of January last past. And Richard Frank, ye other Burgess of ye said Parliament, set forward on his journey to ye Parliament house on St. Julian's day.

1442, April 13. In ye day off yis congregacion, diverse merchantz of yis toun use to repaire to Northvue, and Scone, and lidhous, and other partyes of ye kynges of Denmark, and to Pruce, compleynly reherced, yat yei be kynges officers of Denmark, be grete extorcions, and unlefull charges, were so importabely opposed, yat yei dureste not take upon yem to go to ye sead placez and partyes, but remedie were purveid in yis cas. And many of ye sead grevance reherced and diverse mocions and communicacions had in yis partye, be ye avyse of yis congregacion, and all ye merchantz aforsaid, it was accorded, yat certen persones shall be chosen to laboure in ye spedfull wyse yat can be dyvysed for yese of yis mater, and yat ye merchantz yat use to repaire estward, yat is to say to Pruce, Denmark, Norwey, and Sueche, shall be descrete persones be assessed to pay ye costes of yem that shall laboure for ye mater aforesaid. And yan be Maire were named for yis cause, Henry Thorisby and John Gedney, and ye II cleped to yem Thomas Burgh and John Pigot, and yey IIII cleped to yem John Style and Thomas Talbot, and

yey syxte cleped to yem Bartholomew Colles and Henry Bermyngham. And it is fully consented be all ye xxiiii and xxxii and ye all ye merchantz beneth writen yat all yyngez yat forsaid viii persones shall ordeyne and purvey in yis cas, shall be holden ferme for ever.

The names off ye merchantz ou^r^. ye yat ben reherced, yat appered afore in yis congregacion.

Richard Frank.	Henry Byrmyngham.
John Bocher.	Richard Gygges.
Symkyn Pygot.	John Duddy.
William Bede.	Thomas Assheborne.
Thomas Ormyll.	Richard Broom.
John Launde.	Walter Cony.
William Mollesworth.	John Bagot.
Richard Phyllyps.	John Colchester.
Robert Neweman.	John at Yates.
William Pylton.	Bartholomew Drayton.
Thomas Leghton.	John Boston, merch.
John Mariot.	Robert Walsyngham.
Thomas Thornham.	William Cley.
John Smyth.	Symkyn Grene.
John Hanspy.	John Hayward.
Stephen Aleyn.	John Nicolasson.
Richard Cosyn.	

April 18. The said day ye Burgesses of ye last Parliament, *viz.* Richard Frank and Walter Curson, discretely and seriously declar'd several transactions of ye said Parliament.

April 27. The said day ye Charter of ye liberties of ye towne being by ye labour and industry of Walter Curson, one of ye Burgesses of ye last Parliament newly confirmed, was by ye full consent of ye Corporation aforsaid, plac'd in the treasury of ye town. The expence of confirming, renewing, and writing over which said Charter, amounted to ye sum of viii marks ii^s^ and iiii^d^.

Sept. 29, 1444. WILLIAM KYRKETON, Mayor.

1444-5, Feb. 11. Thomas Burgh and Henry Thorisby chosen Burgesses in Parliament, who set out ye 22d day of February on their journey to Parliament, to be held at Westminster, on ye 25th day of February, and returned home again on Palm Sunday. On the 26th day of April they rode again to London, and on ye 15th day of June ye Parliament was adjourned to ye 20th day of October.

Sept. 29, 1446. JOHN PYGOT, Mayor.

1446-7, Jan. 16. By authority of ye King's writ, by ye sheriff of Norfolk directed to ye Mayor, were chosen Burgesses of ye town, to sit in ye Parliament to be held at Westminster on ye 10th day of February; and ye persons chosen Burgesses of Parliament were Richard Frank, John Style.

Feb. 3. The same day was sealed ye letter for ye Burgesses of Parliament, under ye common seal.

Sept. 29, 1448. THOMAS TALBOT, Mayor.

1448-9, Jan. 18. Thomas Salisbury, Richard Frank, chosen Burgesses of Parliament, to meet at Westminster on ye 12th day of February next ensuing.

Aug. 14. Thomas Salisbury and Richard Frank ingeniously related ye transactions of Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1449. RICHARD FRANK, Mayor.

1449, Oct. 22. Thomas Salisbury, Henry Bermyngham, elected Burgesses of Parliament, to meet at Westminster on ye vi day of November next ensuing.

Oct. 31. A letter pass'd ye same day for ye Burgesses of Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1450. WILLIAM LEWIS, Mayor.

1450, Oct. 27. Thomas Burgh, Henry Thorisby, chosen Members of Parliament.

The letter for ye Burgesses of Parliament was seal'd, who were to meet at Westminster on Nov. 6.

Sept. 29, 1551. THOMAS WATERS, Mayor.

Sept. 29, 1552. GEORGE REVELEY, Mayor.

1553, Sept. 18. John Walpole, Esq. Thomas Watter, Gent. Burgesses in Parliament.

1555, Sept. 29. ROB. MOWTHE, Mayor.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Comon Council have elected Thomas Waters and Sr Nicholas Le Strange, Burgesses in Parliament.

Oct. 12. Agreed to sue at ye Parliament that ye statute where ye mart was put down may be repealed, and ye mart obteined again.

1556, Aug. 8. Mr. Serjeant Walpole chosen Recorder.

Sept. 29, 1571. ROB. HULLIER, Esq. Mayor.

1571-2, Jan. 29. Ordered that Mr. Pell and Mr. Waters shall resort to Mr. Bell at London, and desire of him his advise, whether we shall chuse one high Steward for this Towne or not, and if he think yea, then ye choice to be between the Lord of Lecester and ye Lord Burley, and whom he think metyst of them twayne. As he shall please to give his consent we are agreed to allow and confirm ye same.

1572, April 19. John Pell and Thomas Grave chosen Burgesses for ye Parliament.

May 2. Agreed that Mr. Pell and Mr. Grave now at London shall travell for the attaining of makeing of Clothes in this Towne, and as much as they may to have liberty to shipp them by ye ancient Custom, and to have some place to transport ye said Cloths beyond ye seas, and also for any other thing thought good for ye commodety of this Towne, as well in ye Parliament House as also to ye Queen's Majesty and her honourable Councill, which we referr to their discretions.

June 10. Agreed that Mr. Pell continue his sute to ye Queen's Majesties Councill for ye liberty of Cloths and Corn according to ye Bill exhibited to

ye Lord of Lecester. A £100 was paid him out of ye Hall to bestow about ye said sutes.

Sept. 29, 1575. CHRIS. GRANT, Esq. Mayor.

1575-6, Jan. 31. The Mayor ect. have agreed that Mr. Pell now in ye Parliament time shall be a suter unto ye Queen's Majesty, for ye uniteing of the Admirall Jurisdiction unto this Towne to give her letters Pattents for ye confirmation of ye same.

There was delivered to Mr. Pell ye Charter of ye 16 of H. 4.

Feb. 27. Agreed that Mr. Pell and Mr. Recorder shall make sute to ye Queen's Majesty for ye Advowsons of ye Parsonage of King's Lynn, and ye Vicarage of All Hallows in South Lynn.

Mr. Pell collector of the tax.

Sept. 29, 1579. J. DYTCHFIELD, Esq. Mayor.

1578, July 4. Mr. John Pell did make his earnest request to be discharg'd and removed from being Alderm^n, giving very good reasons, was accordingly discharged. (He was aged 52 years.)

This day Jeffrey Pell, apprentice to ye above John Pell his father, merchant, is made free of ye Company of Merchants to be a Burgess of this Burgh.

July 11. Mr. Overend chosen Ald. in the room of Mr. Pell.

Sept. 29, 1579. THOMAS OVEREND, Esq. Mayor.

1570-80, Feb. 27. Delivered to ye Mayor ye Lord Admirall's letter concerning ye liberties of ye Admiralty, granted to this towne, together with a supplication to ye Queen's Maj^y for ye same liberties, to be delivered to Mr. Peyton and Mr. Pell, Burges of this towne, to exhibit it to her highness, and to prosecute ye matters as may seem meet by their good discretions to obtain a grant thereof by Act of Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1613. MATT. CLARKE, Esq. Mayor.

1613-14, Feb. 21. Two letters, one from Sr Robert Hitchin, Kt., ye other from Sr Henry Spelman, Kt., desiring to be elected Burgesses for ye next

Parliament, forasmuch as ye statute of ye 1st of H. 5, cap. 1, doth appoint that Burg̃ should be men resideing and free in ye Burrough at ye time of their election, it is agreed to answer their letter, ye Corporation is minded to chuse according to ye statute. There was also a second letter from ye above.

Mar. 11. Mr. Mathew Clarke, Mayor, and Mr. Oxburough, Recorder, was elected Burgesses for ye next Parlm^t.

June 20. The Mayor to have ten shillings p^r day for serving in Parliament.

Sept. 29, 1642. Tho. Gurlyn, Esq. Mayor.

1642, Oct. 15. An order from ye House of Commons to ye Mayor, Ald^n, and Com̃ Councill, to require them to pay to Mr. Toll and Mr. Percivall, their Burgesses in Parliament, ye same allowance as formerly per day, being 5*s*.

1642-3, Jan. 3. An answer to ye above order to ye House of Commons to acquaint them that heretofore no Parliamentary wages have been paid befor ye Parliament ended, nor then out of ye towne stock, but bye ye freemen and inhabitants, saveing of late of mere bounty ye Burg̃ were diversely rewarded by ye representative body. Also ye impossibility of performing ye said order, there being no towne stocke, ye revenues not being sufficient to defray ye necessary charges in common; besides, extraordinary expenses unavoidably fall upon us daily for ye safety of this towne and ye kingdom.

1642-3, Jan. 17. A letter from Mr. Percivall, mentioning a debate in ye House of Commons about raiseing money then, they said there was much money to come from Norff. and some from Lynn. Whereupon it was answer'd what plate and money was come from Lynn, but also what great things was done to fortifie ye towne, and that there was a pressing necessity for money to go on; whereupon was ordered £400 for ye carrying it on, being out of money before raised out of this towne by subscription.

Sept. 29, 1648. Tho. Slany, Esq., Mayor, who died Jan. 10.

Jan. 19, 1648-9. Nathaniell Maxey, Esq., Mayor.

1649, Sept. 4. Ordered, that a letter be written to ye Right Honble y^e

Earle of Salsbury, by the Mayor from this house, to give him knowledge that this house have granted him ye freedom of this Burg, and that the comonalty of this Burgh hath elected him a Burgess of ye Parliament of England.

The Earle of Salsbury's Letter.

GENTLEMEN:—As ye president you have made in chooseing me to be your Burgess is unusual (I beleeve), if not ye first amongst you, so do it lay ye greater obligation upon me, neither is that favour a little heigthened by my being so much a stranger to you as indeed I am; and as you have here an open and free acknowledgment from me of your kind and good affections in so unanimous an election of me to serve you in Parliament, as your letter doth express, so cannot they merritt or you expect more thanks then I do really return unto you for them. You have been pleased cheerfully (as you say) to confer your freedom upon me. I shall ever be as zealous in maintaining yours, and as I am not ignorant of the great trust you have placed in me, so shall you never be deceived in it; for ye addresses you are to make to me (as your occasion shall require) they shall not be so many as cheerfully received, and whatsoeuer may concern ye publick good or yours, shall ever be persued with all faithfulness by him that is,

Your very loveing friend,

SALSBURY.

XI. *Account of Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture History, an illuminated Manuscript of the Tenth Century, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Communicated by* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, in a Letter to the Right Hon.* GEORGE EARL OF ABERDEEN, *K.T., President.*

Read 12th April, 1832.

British Museum, April 12th, 1832.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship and the Council of the Society of Antiquaries having determined that, to render the publication-price of Cædmon's Paraphrase more moderate, the Illuminations of the Manuscript should appear in the Archæologia, the following Brief Notice of the Work has been drawn up to accompany the Plates, closing with a Descriptive Catalogue of them by Mr. Thorpe, occasionally containing such passages of the Poem as the Illuminations are intended more strictly to refer to.

The Manuscript itself, preserved among the books and papers of the celebrated Franciscus Junius in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is a small folio, on vellum, containing two hundred and twenty-nine pages; the first two hundred and twelve are written in a fair uniform hand, the remainder of the Volume in a writing somewhat different if not inferior in its character; so much so as to have led some persons, and even Mr. Thorpe himself, to ascribe the close of the Manuscript to a later period than the rest. The balance of opinions, however, among competent judges, leads to a belief that the whole must have been written about or soon after the year 1000.

The Drawings do not reach beyond the ninety-sixth page: in almost every subsequent page, to the very end of the Volume, blank spaces,

intended to receive Illuminations occur, showing that, in its decorations as well as in its text, the Manuscript was left unfinished; possibly owing to the death of the original scribe.

An exact fac-simile of the First Page of the Manuscript, forms the second of the Plates given in the present Volume, Plate LIII. The two last Plates, marked CIII. and CIV. represent every variety of the ornamented letters of the Manuscript arranged in alphabetical order.

On the third of the Cædmon Plates, Plate LIV. within a roundel in the lower portion, is a side-portrait in half-length of a person, with the name of ÆLFWINE attached. The Manuscript itself affords no clue whatever to explain this Drawing: and Ælfwine was a name so common in the Saxon times, that, unless upon substantial ground, one could hardly venture to surmise who this person might be. It seems fair, however, to presume that he must have been either the Illuminator or the Patron of the undertaking: and it is not unworthy of remark, that our learned Director, in the very elaborate Dissertation with which he has recently presented the Society, upon the ancient Benedictional of the Church of Winchester, has pointed to a literary Abbat of this name, for whom the Cottonian Manuscript, Titus, D. XXVII. was written and illuminated by one Ælsinus, a monk of Hyde Abbey near Winchester. This Manuscript, which is devotional, contains numerous Saxon passages written in a smaller but quite similar hand to Cædmon's Paraphrase. Ælfwine became Abbat of Newminster, or Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, in 1035. Whether the Ælfwine of the Cædmon Paraphrase was the same person I do not mean to aver; but the fact I have mentioned seems proper to be placed upon record: for, common as the name was among the Anglo-Saxons, there could be few persons who bore it, in the tenth or eleventh century, of sufficient eminence either to produce or patronize so splendid and expensive a Manuscript as the Cædmon must have been in its time.

Junius, who printed the text of Cædmon in 1655, received this Manuscript as a present from Archbishop Usher.

THE earliest mention of the name of Cædmon occurs in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, where a whole chapter is devoted to the account of the Poet. He is stated to have been a man of humble birth, of little or no learning, a

monk of the Abbey of Streanshal, now Whitby in Yorkshire, but possessed of so great a portion of that divine fervour with which the true poet is inspired, that neither toil nor effort were necessary to him in the composition of his lays.

This was the original Cædmon. Bede preserves a single fragment of his poetry, or rather a translation of it, in his Latin History, in the form of a hymn. King Alfred, in his Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's History, is believed by some to have preserved the original: whilst others, and they have probability upon their side, consider Alfred's copy of the Hymn as a re-translation from Bede's Latin.[a]

Under these latter circumstances it cannot but be a matter of great difficulty to determine whether the substance of the Hymn translated by Alfred may not yet be found in the Metrical Paraphrase the printing of which has been undertaken by our Society: and which, from the inability to discover the Fragment in it, more than from any other cause, has been considered by some of the best of our philological Antiquaries as the work of a second Poet of the name, produced upon the same subject as that which engaged the attention of the first Cædmon, but at a later day.

Junius, from the identity of the subjects, ascribed the Metrical Paraphrase of his Manuscript, without hesitation, to the Cædmon mentioned by Bede: whilst Hickes designates the author of this Paraphrase as the *Pseudo-Cædmon*.

The Fragment in Bede is so short, that it gives no scope for accurate or even fair comparison with the Junian Cædmon; and though the same poetical ornaments and form of construction are common to both, as far as the comparison can be carried, yet we must still remain without decision as to their being the production of the same author: so high a degree of uniformity, Mr. Conybeare justly observes, exists, in these respects, throughout the great mass of Saxon poetry.

The contents of the Manuscript which has given rise to these Remarks have been so ably analysed by Mr. Conybeare, that I shall make no apology

[a] See Lingard's Antiquities of the Saxon Church. This fragment was first printed by Hickes, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, 4°. 1689, p. 187, and again in the Thesaurus, tom. ii. p. 287.

for joining his account of them to this Communication. It affords a more accurate notion of the Junian Cædmon than can be found in the work of any other writer. He says,

" The first portion, after an exordium of thanksgiving to the great Creator, relates the fall of a portion of the Angelic Host, and the design of the Deity to replenish the void thus occasioned in his creation by a better and holier race; the consequent production of this earthly system by the successive operations of six days, is then closely, yet not without the addition of poetical ornament, paraphrased from the first chapter of Genesis. But a chasm in the Manuscript has interrupted the narrative at the close of the third day's work. It re-commences with the formation of Eve, and a description of Paradise, being again mutilated in the prohibitory charge which was made the test of obedience to its inhabitants. This occupies the first five pages of the Junian edition, and may be considered as introductory.

" The paraphrast then enters upon what seems originally to have formed a distinct narrative, having for its subject the Fall of Man, ushered in by a repetition (but more in detail) of the circumstances already introduced in the exordium, of the pride, rebellion, and punishment of Satan and his powers; and with a resemblance to Milton so remarkable, that much of this portion might be almost literally translated by a cento of lines from that great poet. He introduces us to the debates of the fallen angels, and ascribes to their prince a speech of much spirit and character, although injured by the repetitions common to the poetry of a rude period. In this, Satan, after indignant murmurs at his fate, exhorts his companions, by the memory of past benefits, to aid in soothing his pains, by procuring that vengeance against the new favourites of Heaven, which the fiery fetters bound indissolubly upon his own limbs (but, as it should seem, upon his alone) deprived him of the possibility of attempting in person. One of the associated fiends (as may be gathered from the context, for the Manuscript is here again mutilated) accepts the task, and, under the disguise of the serpent, becomes the tempter of our first parents, with whom he enters upon a long dialogue, representing himself as an emissary from the Deity, commissioned to charge them to partake of the tree of death. Adam refuses to credit his pretensions; but Eve yields to his threats of the vengeance of Heaven, provoked by the incredulity

with which its messenger had been received; and to the compliments which he adroitly insinuates to her own superior prudence—a quality, however, in which the poet more than hints his opinion of her deficiency: the fiend casts over her a magical delusion, by which he induces her to believe at the moment when she has eaten the forbidden fruit, that all her faculties are expanded, that a celestial light shines around her, and that her sphere of vision is so enlarged as to penetrate throughout the universe, even to the throne where the Deity sitteth, in the south-eastern region of the heavens, encircled by his angels. Her representations and persuasions succeed in shaking the resolution of her husband; and the tempter prepares to return to his prince, exulting in the triumphant revenge which he is about to carry back as an alleviation to the torments of hell. The misery and remorse of Adam, and the judgment of the Deity, are then briefly described. This portion of the Paraphrase (which here, indeed, rather claims the title of an original Poem) extends from the fifth to the twenty-fourth page of the printed edition. From the awkwardness of its connection with the narrative of the Creation, the repetition of the story of the fallen Angels, and the change of metre observable near its commencement, as well as from the contrast which it exhibits to the meagre style of much of the following paraphrase, it seems to have formed originally a distinct composition, which perhaps the paraphrast of a later age has worked up into his fabric. Its form and character is remarkably dramatic: and if we had any reasons for supposing that representations of scriptural histories, analogous to the mysteries of a later period, were then known, we might almost believe it to have been written with that view.

"The subsequent histories of Cain and Abel, and of the Patriarchs, both before and after the Flood, to the close of the life of Abraham, are regularly narrated in almost literal and undecorated versions of the scriptural accounts; the only attempts to introduce ornaments of a more poetical character occurring in the narrative of the Deluge, and of the battle of the Kings against Sodom. This portion terminates in the sixty-third page of Junius's printed edition.

"By an abrupt transition, the paraphrast passes at once from Abraham to Moses, and records the miracles wrought upon the land of Egypt, and the

overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. In this part, which extends to page 72, the style again becomes more spirited.

"Hence, by another hasty advance, in which the fortunes of the Israelites from the age of Moses to that of Daniel, are slightly alluded to in a few lines, apparently added for the purpose of affording a connecting link between two compositions originally detached, we are conducted to a paraphrase of the contents of the first five chapters of the latter prophet, including also the apocryphal Song of the Three Children, extending to page 92, [of Junius's Edition] and ending abruptly in the middle of the Speech of Daniel to Belshazzar. Here the older hand-writing of the MS. ceases, the following portion being of a different and more modern, though still ancient character.

"This appended part consists of an entirely distinct poem, the principal subject of which is the triumphant entrance into Hades by Christ, familiarly known in the middle ages, under the title of the Harrowing of Hell. But this is introduced by several long harangues of Satan and his angels, reproaching themselves and each other with their crime and its consequent punishment, so little connected with the sequel or with each other, and so inartificially thrown together, as rather to resemble an accumulation of detached fragments than any regular design. After these speeches, the poet digresses to the moral inference that man may acquire, by his conduct, either joy with the angels above, or torment in the society of these fiends—expatiating on either alternative. He then proceeds to state that the knowledge that Christ should descend to Hell to redeem his people was an especial cause of grief to Lucifer. The dread of the fiends, and the joy of the captive spirits of men, at the accomplishment of that great event are next described. While the victorious Redeemer prepares to lead forth his ransomed Saints, Eve addresses him, bewailing the consequences of her transgression, and supplicating his aid to deliver herself and her offspring, since for that purpose he had, from her daughter Mary, assumed the nature of Man. Christ having accomplished this deliverance, in turn recapitulates what he had endured and done for that purpose. His several appearances to his Disciples after his Resurrection, the institution of Baptism, and his Ascension, briefly follow; and the consideration of his present station at the right hand of the Eternal Father, is made to introduce that of his future and final Judgment. By an abrupt

and singular transition, the poet, having described the hymns of the glorified spirits in heaven to their Lord, turns back to his temptation, with the observation, 'This is the same Lord who died and endured temptation for us.' With this, and the return of the baffled Tempter to his prison-house, the MS. concludes."

Such is Mr. Conybeare's Analysis. I have only to add, that the Observations here offered to accompany the Illuminations of the Manuscript, are preliminary to them only; they are in no way intended to interfere with the Preface which Mr. Thorpe has prepared to accompany the Volume, printed under the auspices of the Society.

The Pages of the Manuscript upon which the Illuminations occur, are marked by dark Numerals at the right hand corner of each Plate.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen,
&c. &c. &c.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE PLATES.

LII. Frontispiece to the MS. of Cædmon's Paraphrase.

LIII. Fac-simile of the first page of Cædmon.

LIV. The Deity sitting on his throne, expressing his displeasure with the Rebel-Angels.

In the margin stand the words, hælenþeȝ heh-ȝelþ, *the throne of Christ.*

Below is the Portrait of Ælfwine.

LV. A Drawing divided into four compartments.

1. The Rebel-Archangel crowned, with looks directed toward his adherents (four angels), his right hand pointing to an edifice, intended apparently for the heavenly abode, behind which stand five angels. Four angels offer crowns to the Archangel.

On the top of the page, the lower part of the following words may be traced,
hu ȝe enȝýl onȝon oȝeȝmoð ȝeȝan,
How the angel began to be presumptious.

The upper part of the inscription has been cut off by the binder of the Volume.

2. The Deity attended by angels, each bearing a peacock's feather. He is in the act of grasping those borne by the two angels nearest to him.

3. The Deity holding three javelins, with which he is striking downward. The inscription:
hu ȝe hælenð ȝeȝceop helle heom to ȝite,
How God formed hell for a punishment to them.

4. The Infernal Regions. The chief figure here is a huge monster, or Leviathan, with jaws extended, in which Satan is lying on his back, bound round the neck and limbs, while his associates are seen plunging into the burning gulf.

LVI. The Uprearing of the Firmament. The Spirit of God upon the Deep. Inscription:
ȝeȝýnðpoðe ȝæt ⁊ eoȝðan,
He parted the water and the earth.

LVII. The Saviour. The Separation of Day from Night. Opposite the lower compartment is this inscription:
hu he toðælðe ðæȝ ȝiðð nihte,
How he divided day from night.

LVIII. The Angels proceeding to Paradise. The formation of Eve. Inscr.

1. heȝ ȝoðeȝ enȝlaȝ aȝtiȝan oȝ heouenan into paȝaðiȝum,
Here God's angels proceed from heaven into Paradise.

In this, as well as in some of the other drawings, the door-hinges are remarkable, as precisely resembling those still to be seen upon the doors of some of our ancient churches.

2. heȝ ðȝihten ȝeȝcop aðameȝ ȝiȝ euan,
Here the Lord created Adam's wife Eve.

3. heȝ ðȝihten ȝeȝeaȝȝ ȝelep on aðam ⁊ ȝenam him an ȝib oȝ þã ȝiðan ⁊ ȝeȝcop hiȝ ȝiȝ oȝ þam ȝibbe,
Here the Lord cast sleep upon Adam, and took a rib from his side, and created his wife from that rib.

LIX. The Deity addressing Adam and Eve, in the words beginning, cemað nu ⁊ pexað. &c. See Poem, p. 13, l. 1.

LX. God beholding the excellence of his Productions.

LXI. Adam and Eve in Paradise.
heo pæron leof zode. &c. p. 16, l. 17.

LXII. The Fall of the Angels. Satan in Hell. (Hell is again represented as a huge monster.)
⁊ heo alle forfceop bruhten to deoflum. p. 20, l. 14.

LXIII. The Deity supported by Seraphim. Satan's Torment.

LXIV. In the upper part of this Drawing, Adam and Eve are represented standing by the Tree. In the lower part Satan appears fettered and manacled, while the messenger-fiend is seen passing through an opening, on his way to tempt Adam and Eve.
hpeanf him þurh þa hell-dora. p. 29, l. 8.

LXV. The Temptation of Eve.

LXVI. The Tempter offering the Fruit to Adam.

LXVII. Two compartments: 1. Adam receiving the Fruit from Eve.
2. The grief of Adam and Eve, after eating of the Fruit.
The Fiend departs from them with an air of mockery.
hloh þa ⁊ plezode. boda bitne zehuzod. p. 45, l. 10-11.
The figure of a lion, below, which seems added merely to fill the space, is evidently the work of a later and freer hand.

LXVIII. 1. Adam and Eve conscious of their nakedness.
2. They cover themselves with fig-leaves.

LXIX. The Fiend returning to his Master, after having tempted Eve.
hpeanf him eft niðer. boda bitnefca. fceolde he þa bradan higaf fecan. helle zehliðo. þær hif heanna læz. p. 47, l. 17-22.

LXX. 1. Adam and Eve seeking shelter in the woods.
uton zan on þýrne pealb. innan on þiffef holtef hleo. p. 52, l. 6-7.
2. Adam and Eve sitting apart from each other.
fæton on funðran. p. 52, l. 11.

LXXI. 1. The Almighty cursing the Serpent.
2. God calls to Adam in the Garden.
hýðdon hie on heolftre. þa hie haliz poro. ðrihtnef zehýrdon. p. 53, l. 12-14.

LXXII. The Almighty addressing Adam and Eve. (The figure of the Deity is given double, one being turned towards Adam, the other towards Eve.)
ða to euan ȝoð. ýþþinȝa ſþþæc. þenð þe ſþom þýnne. &c. p. 57, l. 26-28.
abeaþ eac aþame. ece þrihten. hiſeſ leohť-ſþuma.
lað æþenþe. þu ſcealť oðeþne. eðel ſecean. &c. p. 57, l. 8-13.

LXXIII. The exile of Adam and Eve denounced, and their departure.

LXXIV. The Angel closing the Gate of Paradise.
him on laſťe beleac. hðſa ⁊ þýnna. hihťſulne ham.
haliȝ enȝel. be ſþean hæſe. ſýþene ſþeoþþe. p. 58, l. 12-17.

LXXV. The Birth of Abel.

LXXVI. The Story of Cain and Abel.
1. Cain aiding his father in the labours of agriculture.
oðeþ hiſ to eoþðan. elneſ tiloþe. ſe þæſ æþ-boþen. p. 59, l. 31-33.
2. Abel tending cattle.
oðeþ æhťe heolþ. p. 59, l. 34.
3. Abel's offering.
4. The murder of Abel.
5. Abel's blood crying to the Almighty.
⁊ hiſ bloþ to me. cleopað ⁊ ciȝeþ. p. 62, l. 11-12.

LXXVII. Further Representation of Cain's History:
1. The Almighty addressing Cain.
2. Cain travelling to his new abode.
him þa cain ȝeþať — ⁊ him þa þic ȝeceaſ. eaſť-landum. p. 64, l. 13-18.
3. Cain with his wife and son Enoch.

LXXVIII. Compartments containing figures of the Posterity of Adam.

LXXIX. Two compartments. 1. Jubal playing on his lyre.
2, 3. Tubal Cain as a smith, and in the act of ploughing.
4. Adam and Eve, the latter holding Seth in her arms.

LXXX. Seth with his wife and son. (Inscr. ſeth þæſ ſæli, *Seth was prosperous.*)

LXXXI. Enos, the son of Seth, and his family.

LXXXII. A figure, perhaps Mahalaleel? standing by an altar.

LXXXIII. The burial of Mahalaleel.
malalahel. þintþa hæſþe. ſiſ ⁊ hunþ niȝontiȝ. þa he ſoþð ȝeþať. p. 71, l. 25-30.

LXXXIV. An Angel conversing with a Prophet, supposed to be Enoch, perhaps in allusion to the verse,

hım pæſ þeoðen holð. p. 73, l. 10.

(The Prophet treads an animal like a dragon under foot, but to this there is no allusion in the poem.)

LXXXV. The Translation of Enoch. The lower part represents the Patriarch leaving earth; the upper his entrance into heaven, attended by angels.

LXXXVI. Mathuselah attended by his sons. On his right hand his wife in bed, attended by two females, one of whom holds an infant in swaddling clothes: presumed to represent the Birth of Noah.

LXXXVII. Scenes in the lives of Lamech and Noah.

LXXXVIII. The Almighty commanding the Ark to be built. Beneath is seen the commencement of the work.

LXXXIX. The Ark completed and inhabited. The Almighty standing at the door, ready to close it when one of Noah's sons and his wife shall have entered.

XC. The Ark afloat. In the lower part, the Deity is represented closing the entrance.

hım on hoh beleac. heoꝼon-ꝼıcеſ ꝼeaꝼð. meꝼe-huſеſ muð. p. 82, l. 16-18.

XCI. Noah and his family quitting the Ark; the Deity holding the door open.

XCII. Noah's Sacrifice.

þa noe ongan. neꝼgenðe lac. p. 90, l. 18-19.

XCIII. God's Covenant with Noah.

ıc eoꝼ ꝼeoꝼa þæſ. mıne ſelle. p. 92, l. 28-29.

XCIV. Noah cultivating the Earth.

þa —— noe ongan æceſ ꝼıhan. p. 94, l. 1-6.

XCV. Noah's Death and Burial.

XCVI. The Building of Babel planned.

XCVII. God's Visit to Babel. The Dispersion.

þa com halıg goð. peꝼa cneoꝼıſſa. peoꝼc ſceapıgan. p. 101, l. 7-10.

XCVIII. 1. The blessing of Abraham.

2. Abraham and his family going to Canaan.

3. God appearing to Abraham.

þa hine cýning engla. abrahame. ierbe ſelfa. p. 107, l. 5-7.

XCIX. 1. Abraham standing (holding an axe) between two buildings, probably preparing to build his altar.

2. The Deity appearing to Abraham.

C. Abraham approaching Egypt.

geſeah egýpta. hofn ſele hpite. p. 109, l. 10-11.

CI. An Unfinished Illumination.

CII. Ornamental Decoration on p. 225 of the Manuscript.

CIII, CIV. Capital Letters, alphabetically arranged, referring to the pages of the Manuscript.

Genesis in anglico

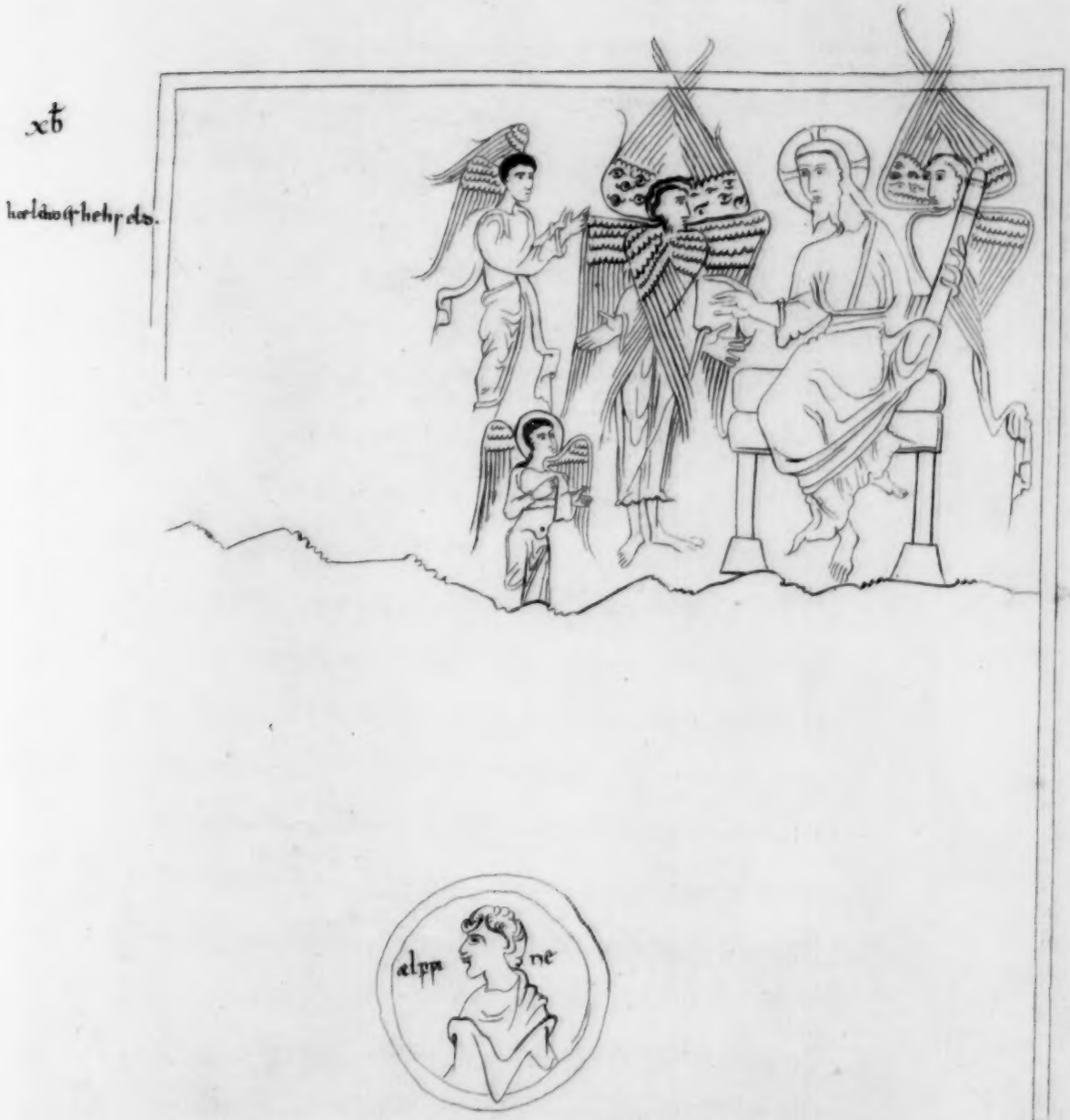
Genesis in Longum Stroamum

S IS RIHT MICELDÆT

Pe rodhra ſtapad. peneda pulder cmung.
pondum hefigth. modum lufiath. heri mægna
ſped. hæfad eallra hæah gehwæſtra. frea ælmihtig.
næs him frumu æfre. ongynn. nenu ende cymb.
ecean drihtnes. ac he bid a rice. ofer heofon ſtolas
hæigum þrymmum. god ſæt. ſynnum ſwiðe ſwegl bor
mas healdad. þa ſæron geſtaðe. þurh gifte. þurh
ſeo lo godes. puldres bearnum. gastra ſtandum.
hæfdon gleam ſoðum. þæra ond frumum. engla
þreatas. beorhte blippe. þæs heora blæd micel.
þegnas þrymfæste. þæd ea hiredon. ræddon lif
um lof. heora alifr frean. dundon drihtnes dige
þum. þæron ſpide geſælige. ſynna necuðon. þi
ſeha frumman. ac hie on frude lifdon. ece mid
heora aldor. ellis ne ongunnon. þæran on rode
þum. nymbe ſuhte ſpor. æfdon engla þeaw. for
oferhygde. dæl ongeðpilde. noldan drihtnes lifes
heora ſelfra ræd. ac hie ofer ſiblufan. godes a
hwurfon. hæfdon gielp micel. þhie wid drihtne.
dælan mæhton. puldor ræfnan wic. þe rodes
þrymme. wid ſpedl ſoðte. him þæs ſar gelamp.
æfter ſofes hygd. þæs engles mod. þe þone unræd.
ongan æriest frumman. þeran ſpecan. þa he
ſorde ſpæd. nihes of hyneed. þheon norðdæle.

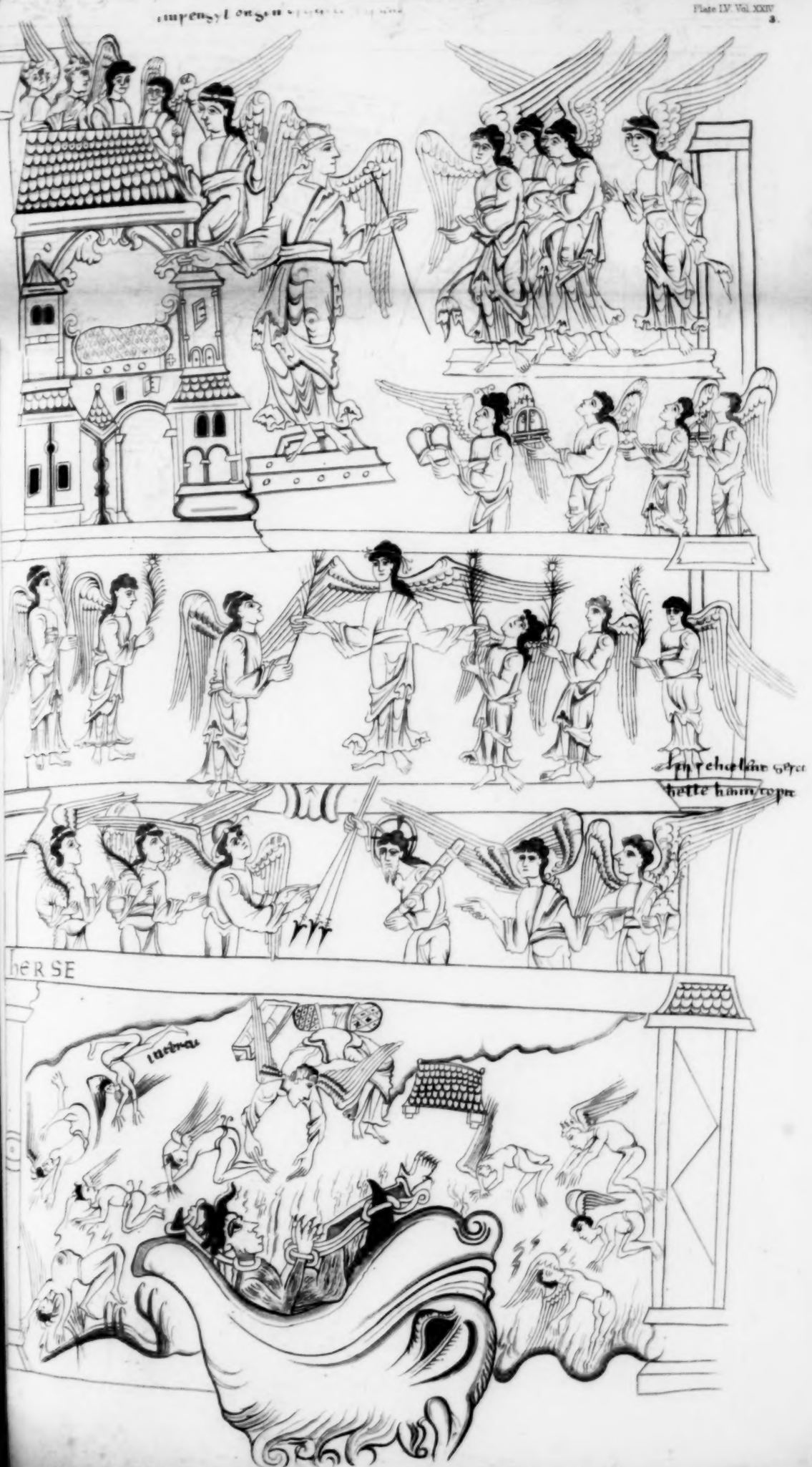
Fac Simile of the first Page of Cædmon.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April 1832.

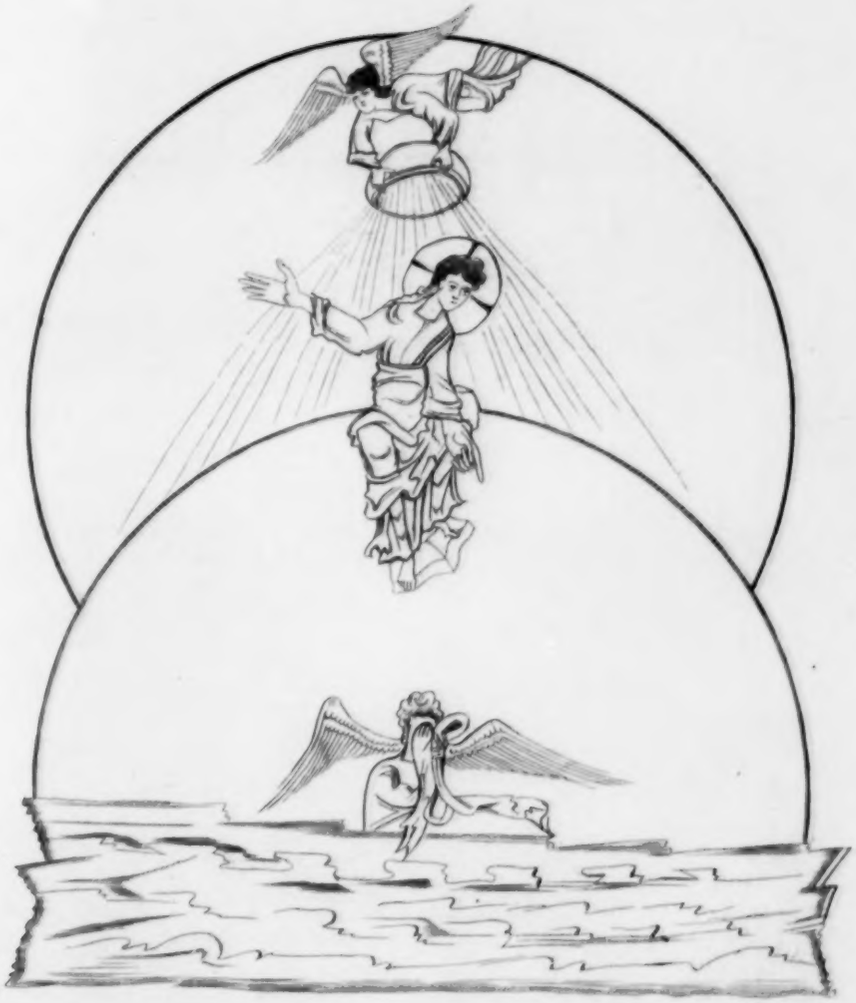


The Deity expressing his displeasure with the Rebel Angels.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April 1832.



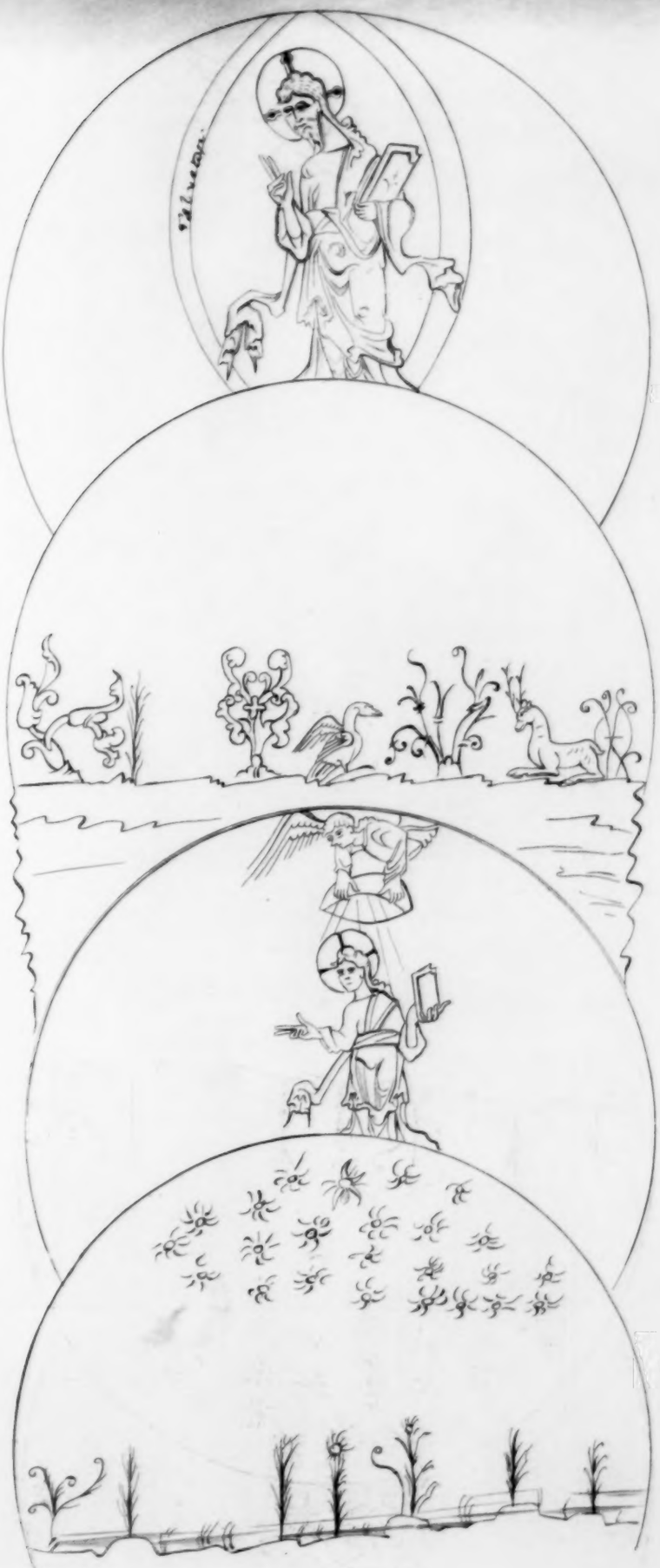
The Rebel Archangel and his adherents. The Fall of the Rebellious Angels.



The uprearing of the Firmament. The Spirit of God upon the Deep.

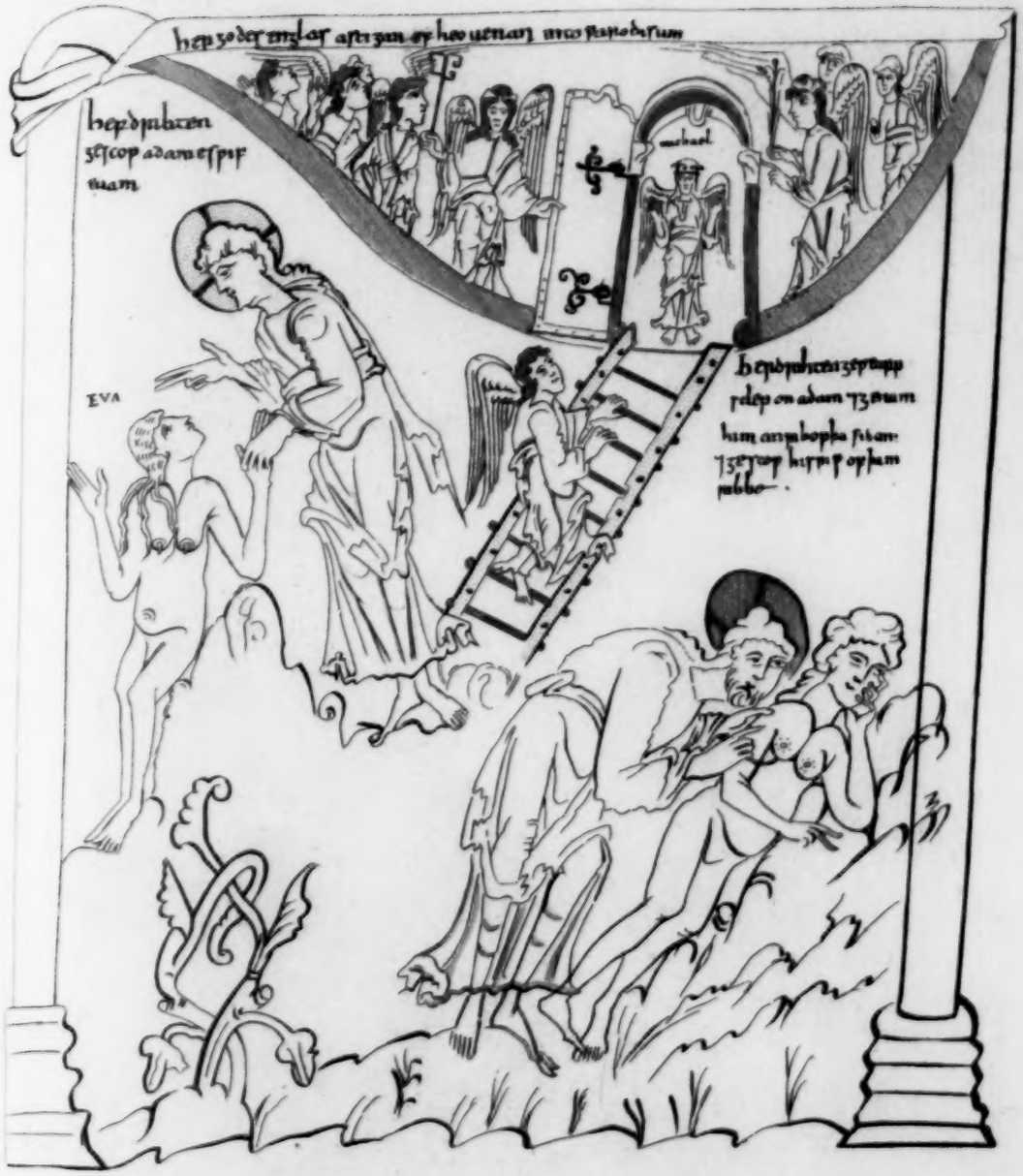
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1831.

P. Rivière sc.



The Saviour. The separation of Day from Night.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April 1834.



The Angels proceeding to Paradise. *The Formation of Eve.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st March, 1834.

God bestowing his blessing "Teem now and increase."

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23rd April 1832.

J. Basire sc.

God beholding the excellence of his Productions.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April, 1832.

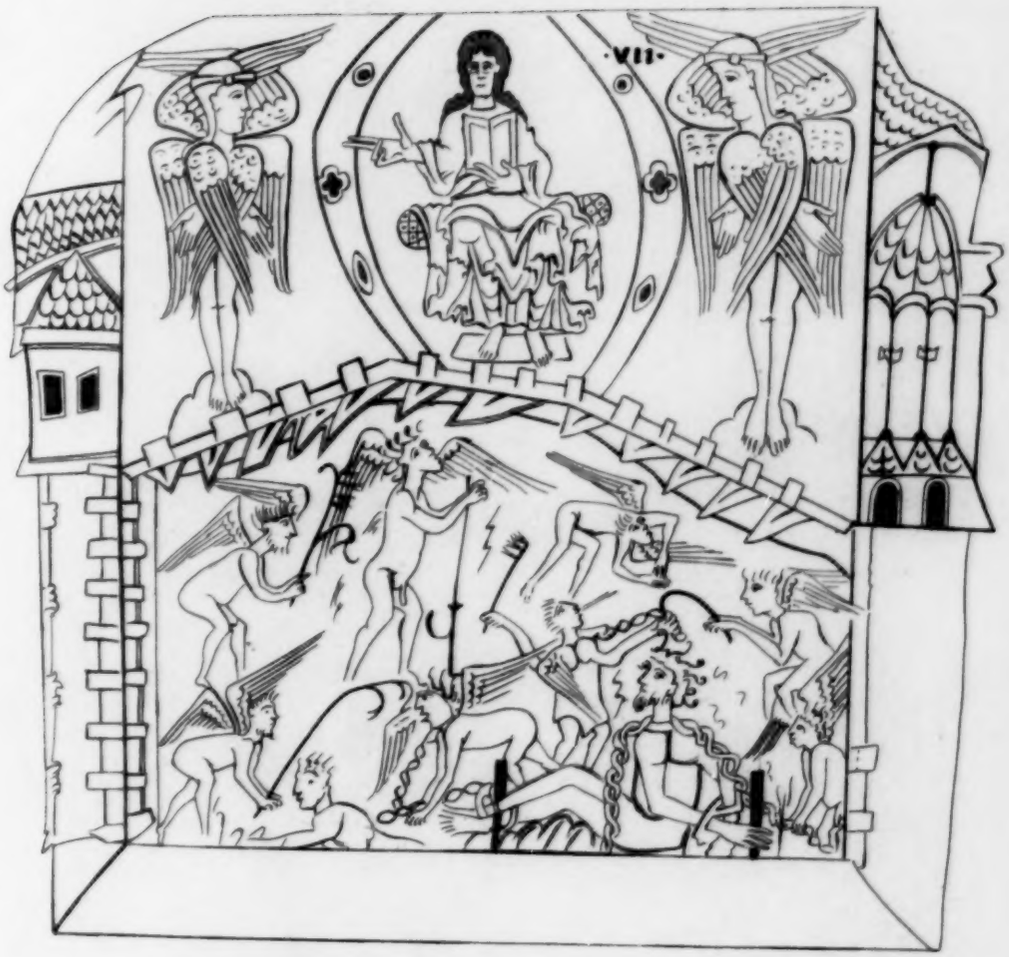
Adam and Eve in Paradise

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1831.

J. Basire sc.

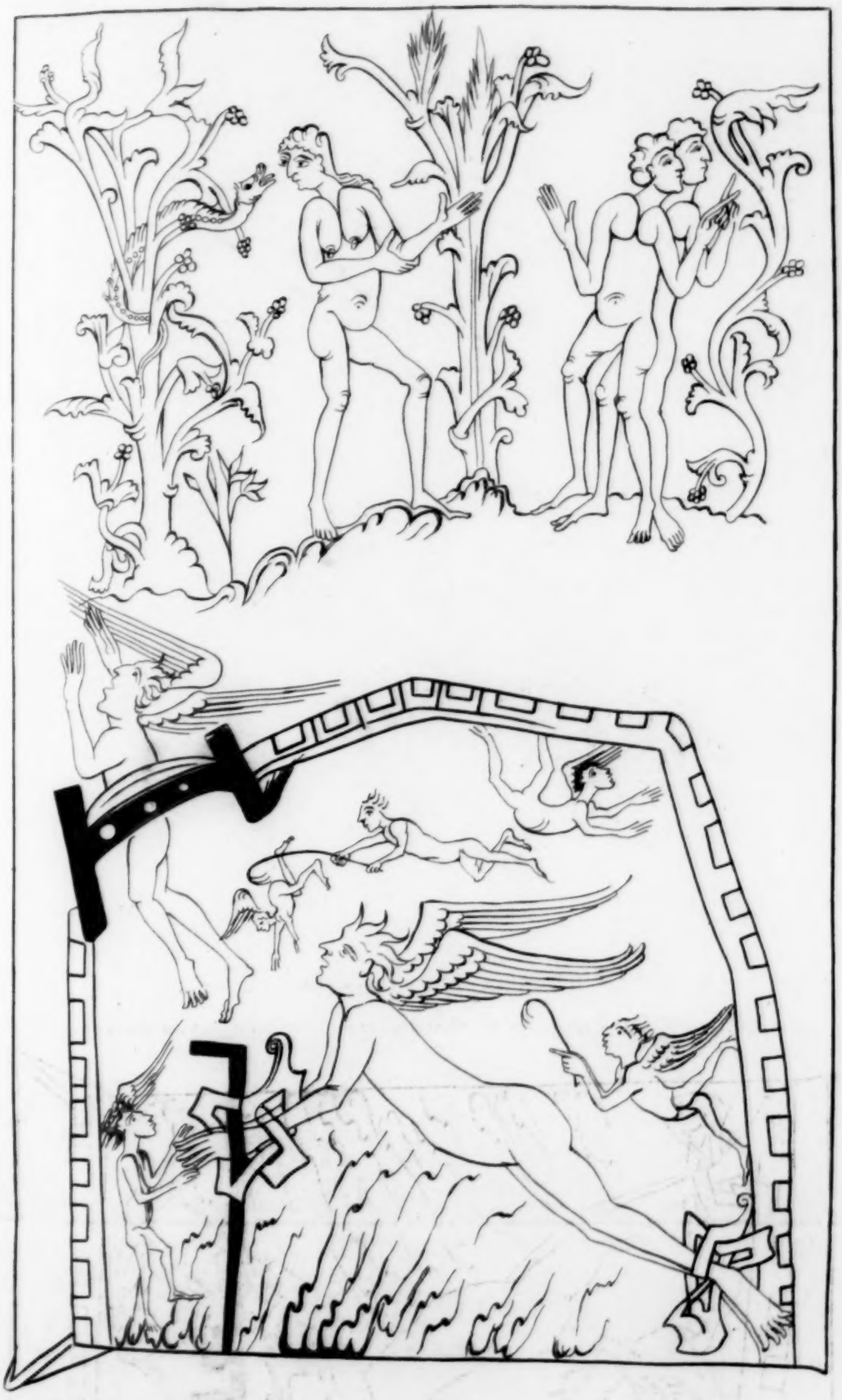
The Fall of the Angels. Satan in Hell.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1842.



The Deity supported by Seraphims. Satan's Torment.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1832.



The Serpent's counsel to Eve. *Satan's Soliloquy: the departure of Satan's Messenger.*

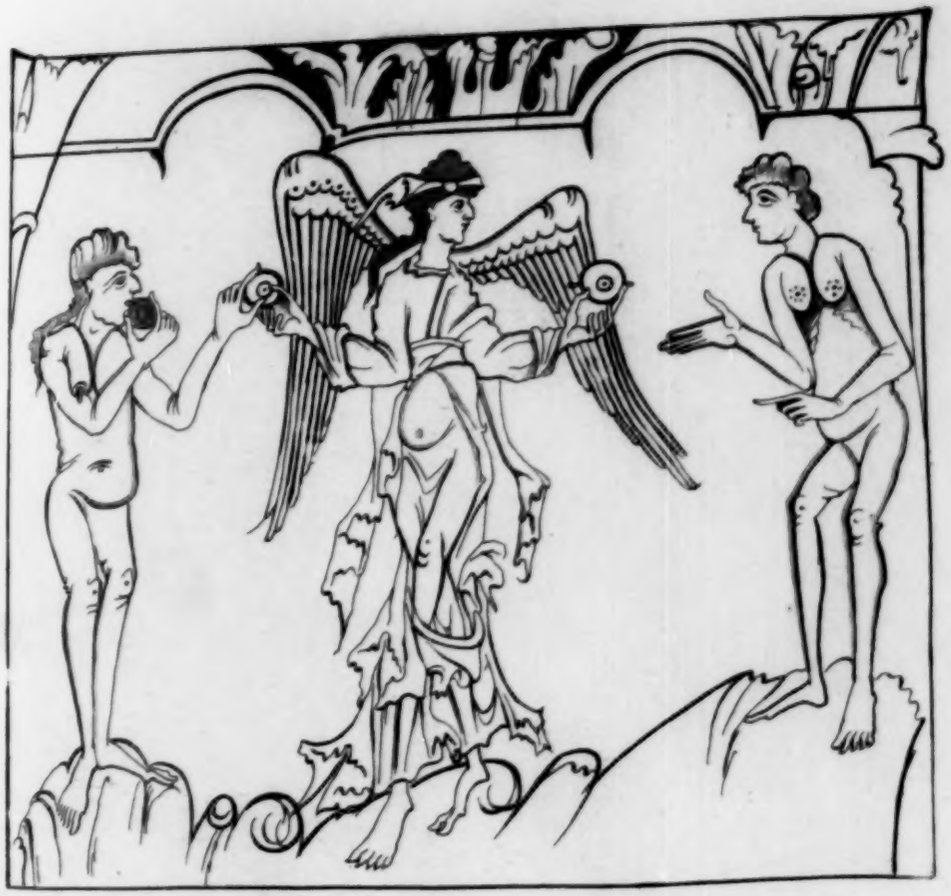
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

J. Basire sc.

The Spirit deceives Eve. "Take thee this fruit in hand, bite it and taste."

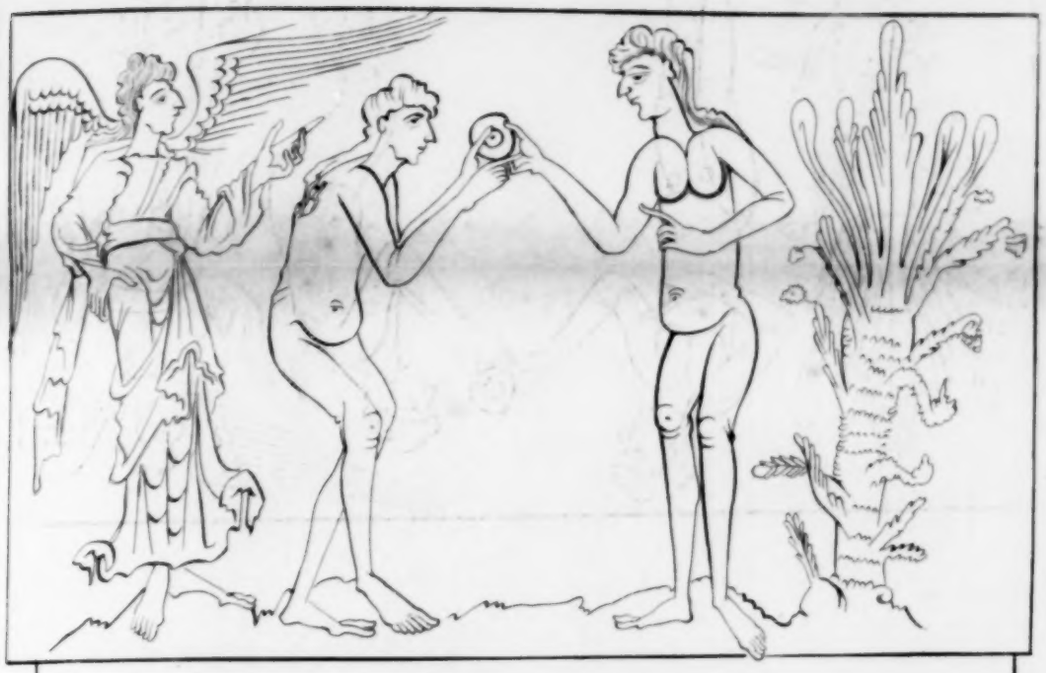
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April 1853.

J. Basire sc.



Adam refuses Satan's temptation.

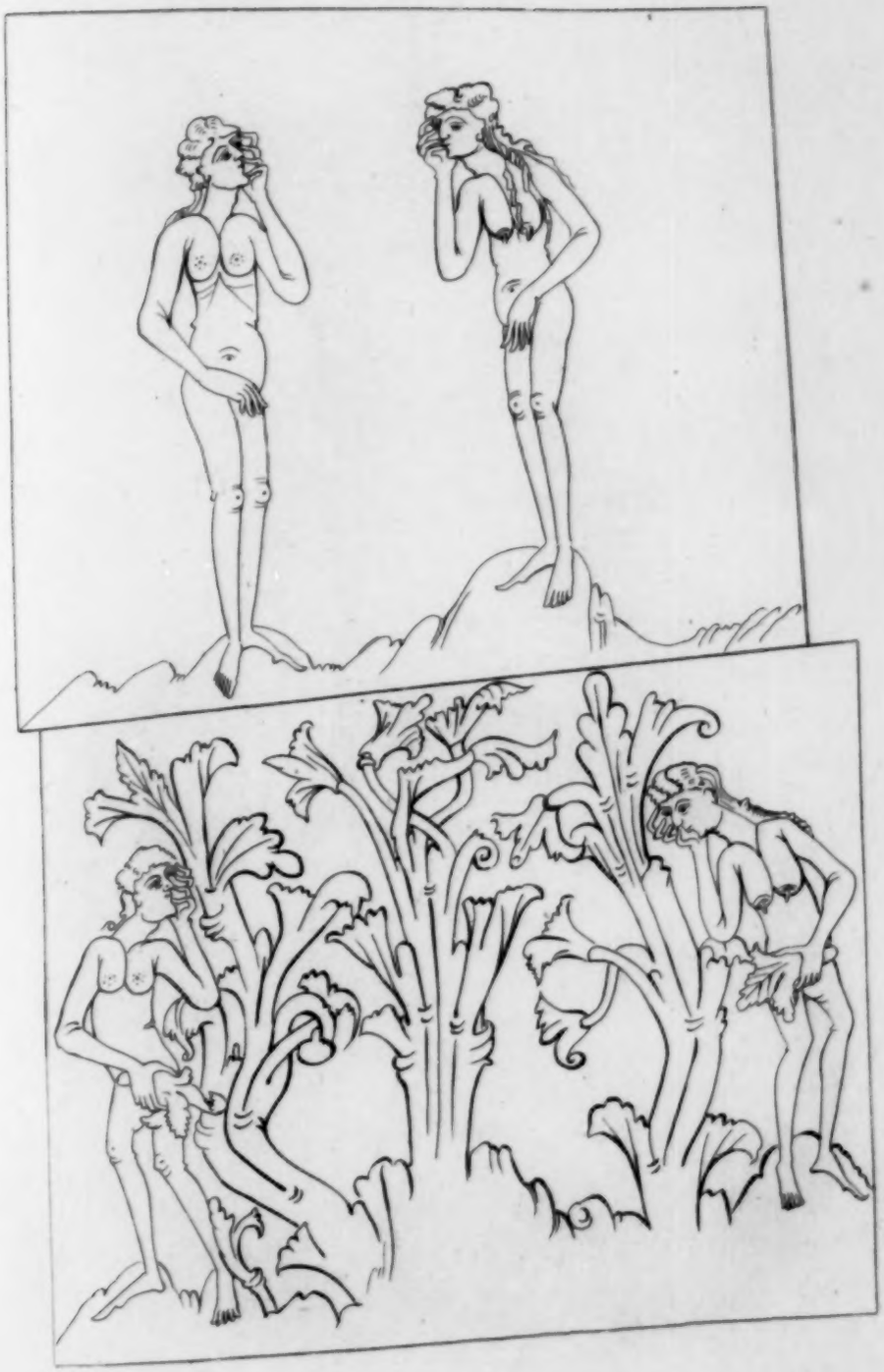
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1852.



Adam deceived by Eve. *Their Sorrow.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

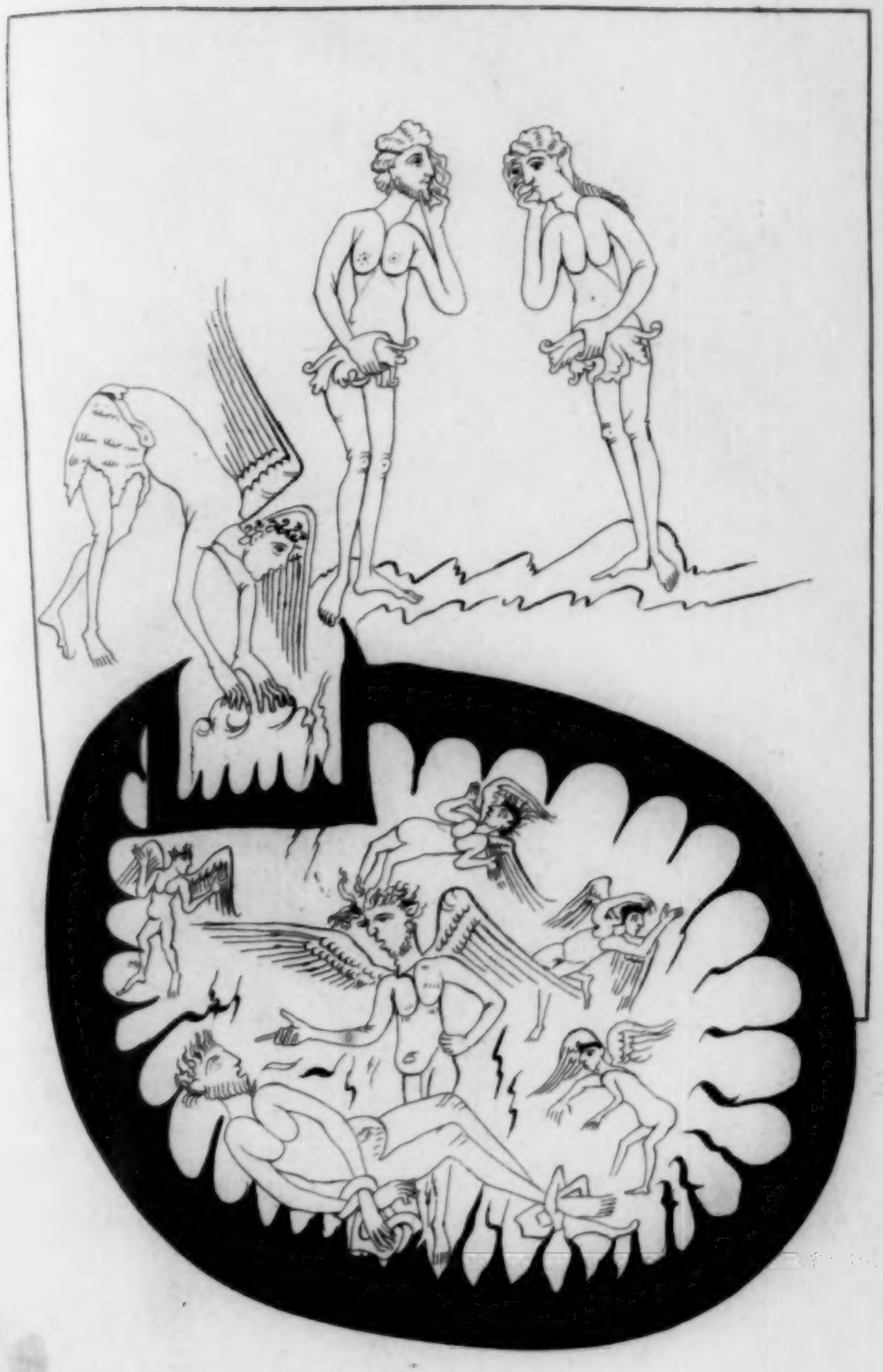
J. Basire sc.



They are conscious of their nakedness: and seek a covering.

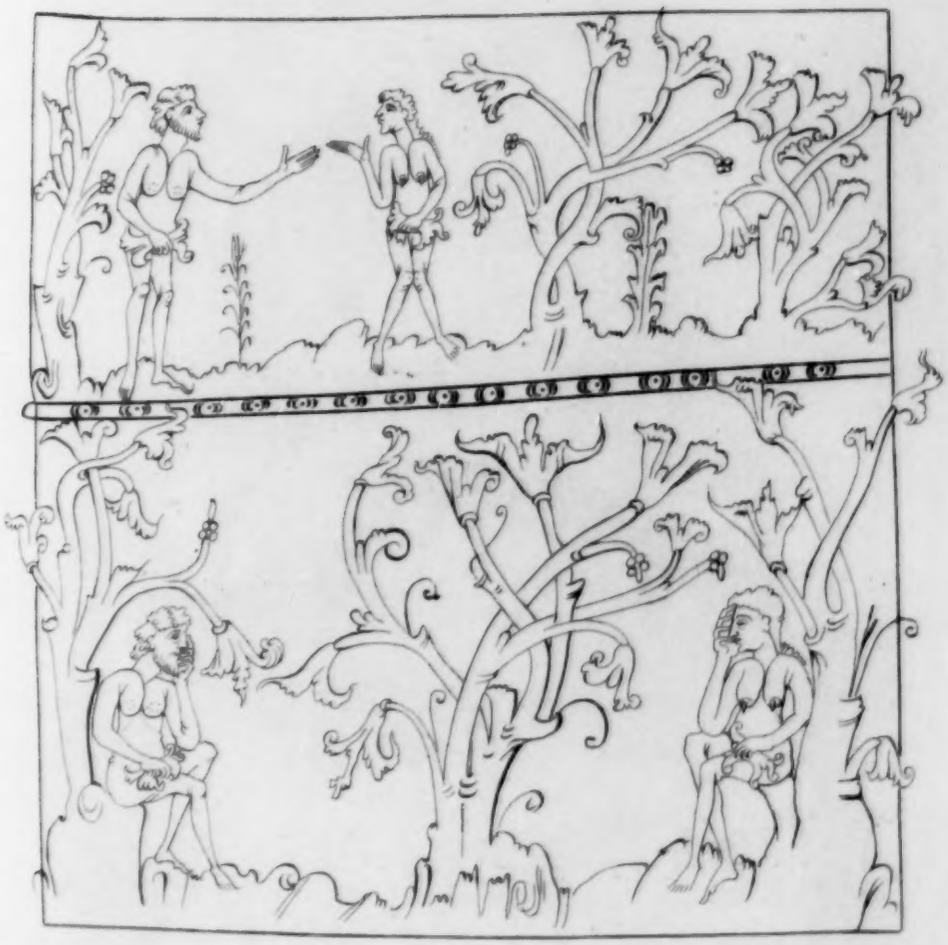
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

J. Basire sc.



The fiend's return to Satan.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April 1881.

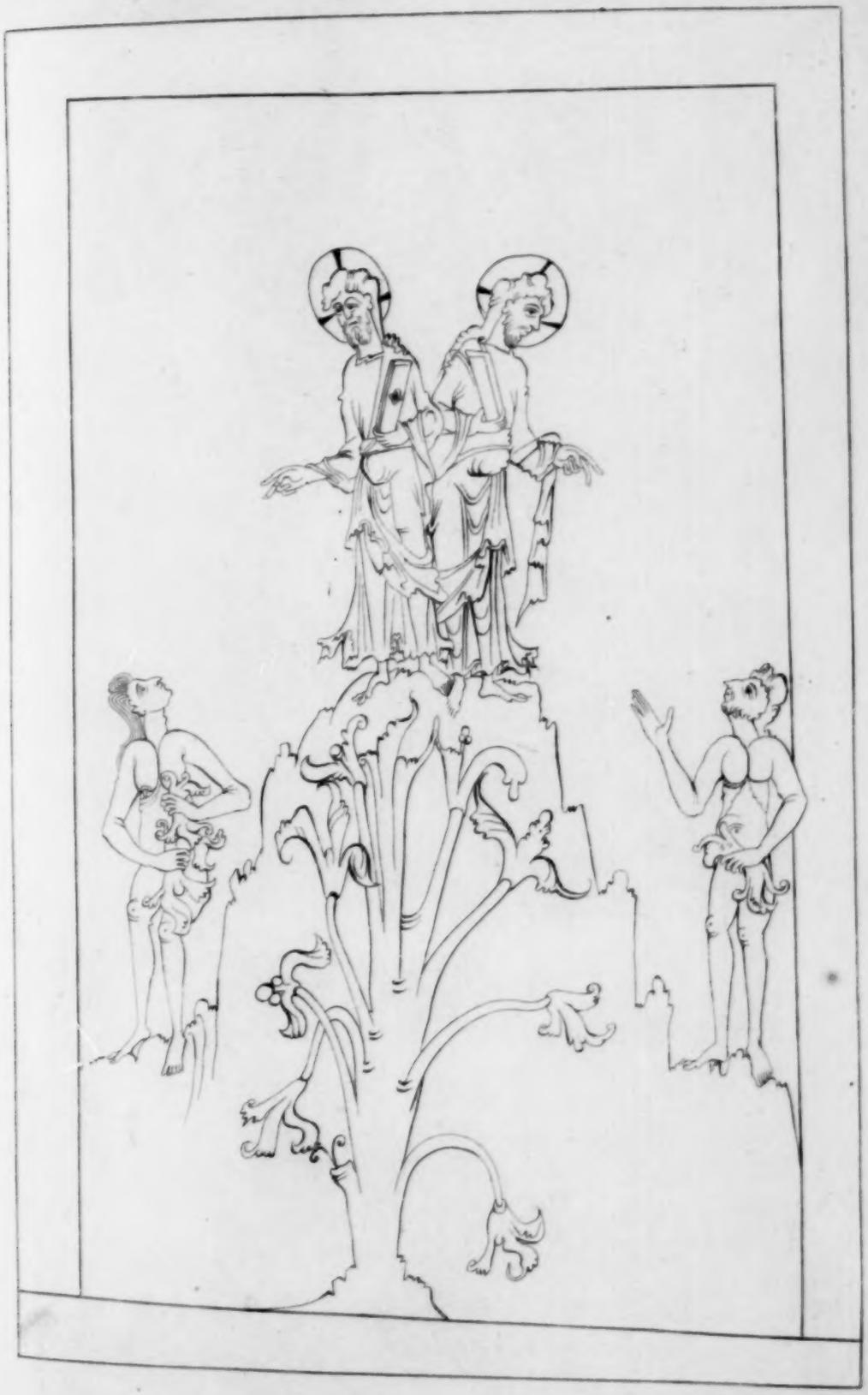


Adam and Eve seek the "Weald": they "sit apart to wait the Mandate of Heaven's King."

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1832.

The denouncement against the Serpent. *God calls to Adam in the Garden.*

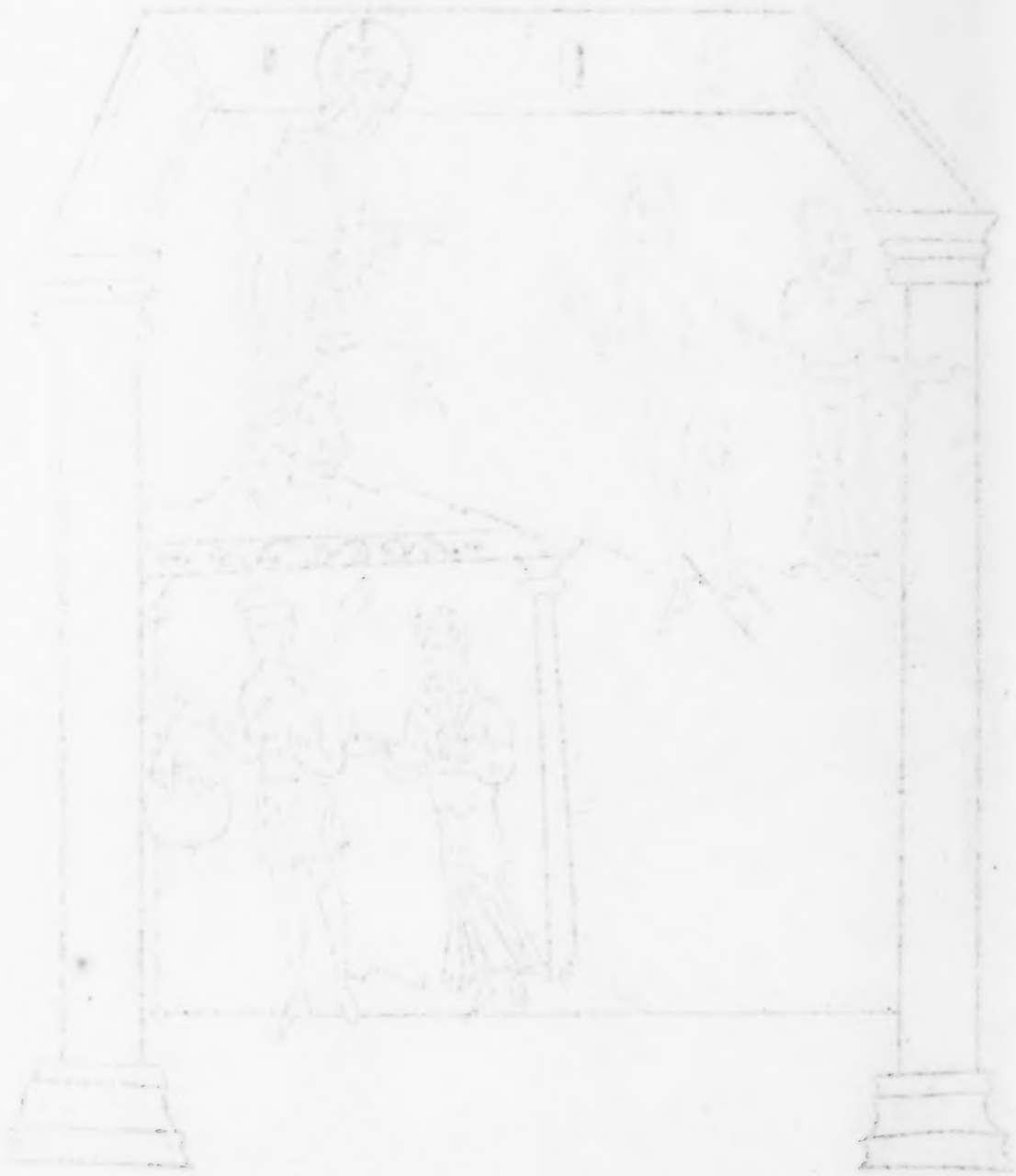
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15 April 1852.

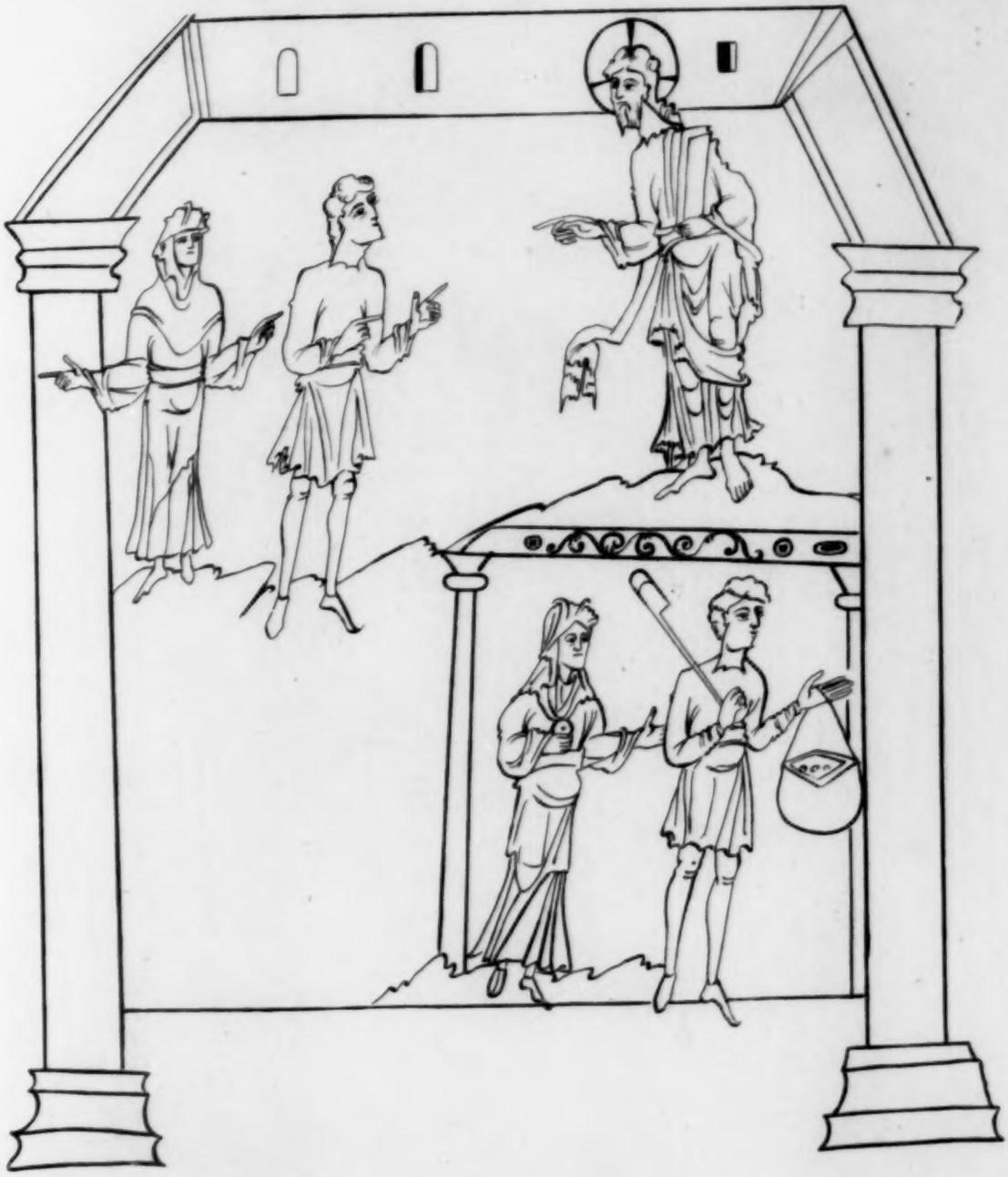


The separate Sentences pronounced on Eve and Adam.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1832.

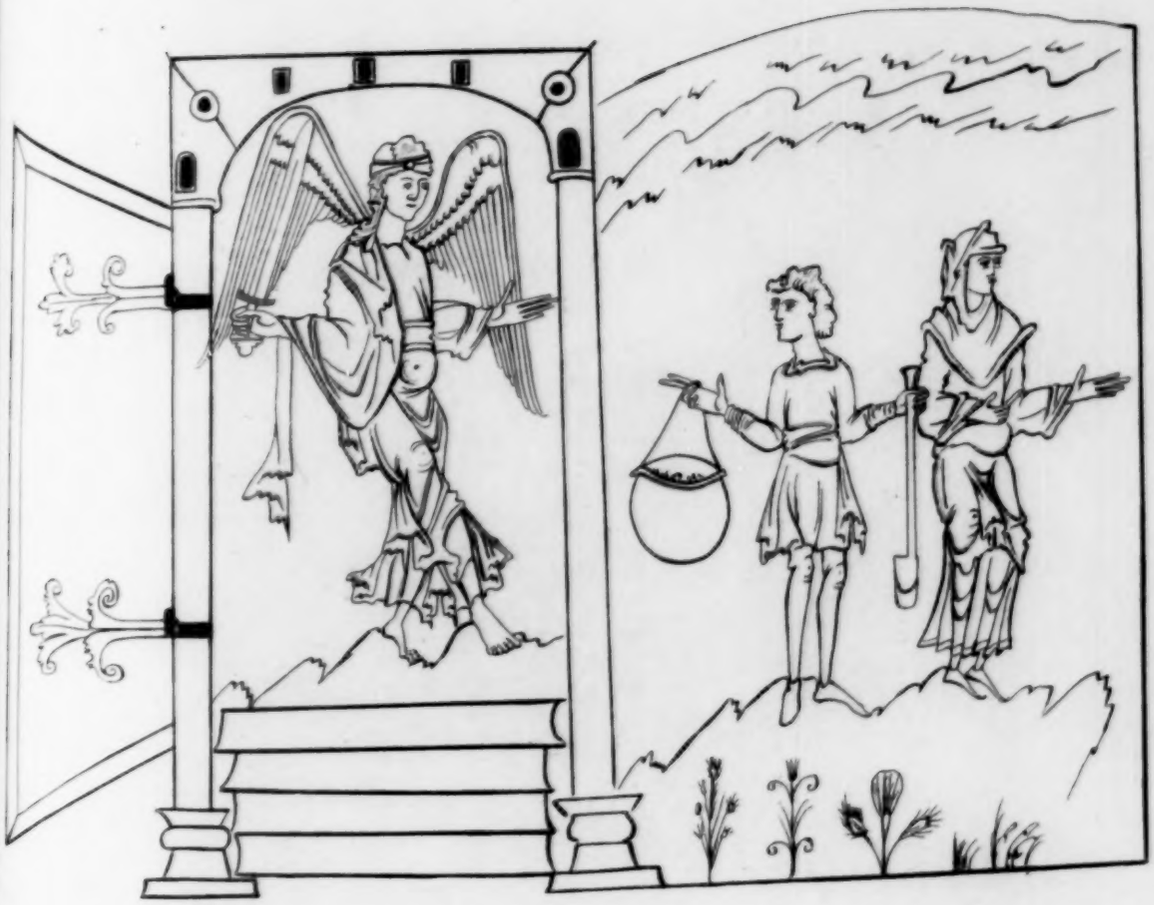
J. Basire sc.





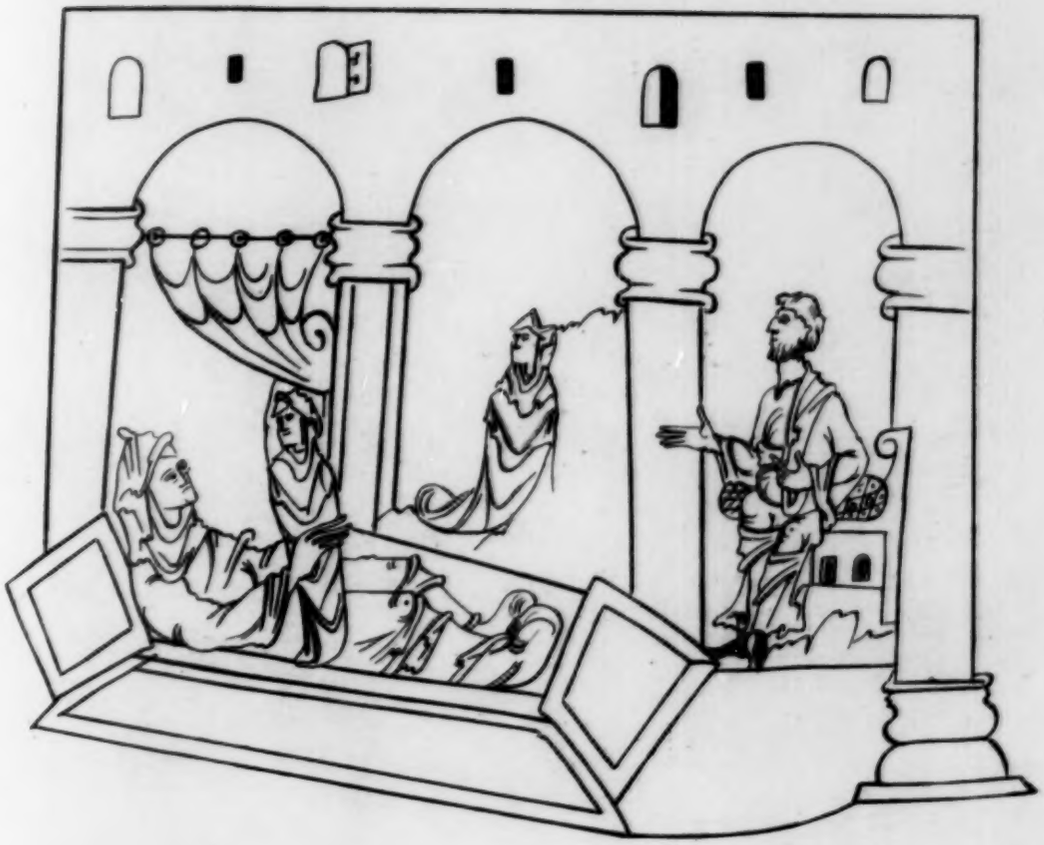
The Exile of Adam and Eve denounced, and their departure.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th April, 1832.



The Angel closing the Gate of Paradise.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, 19th April 1852.

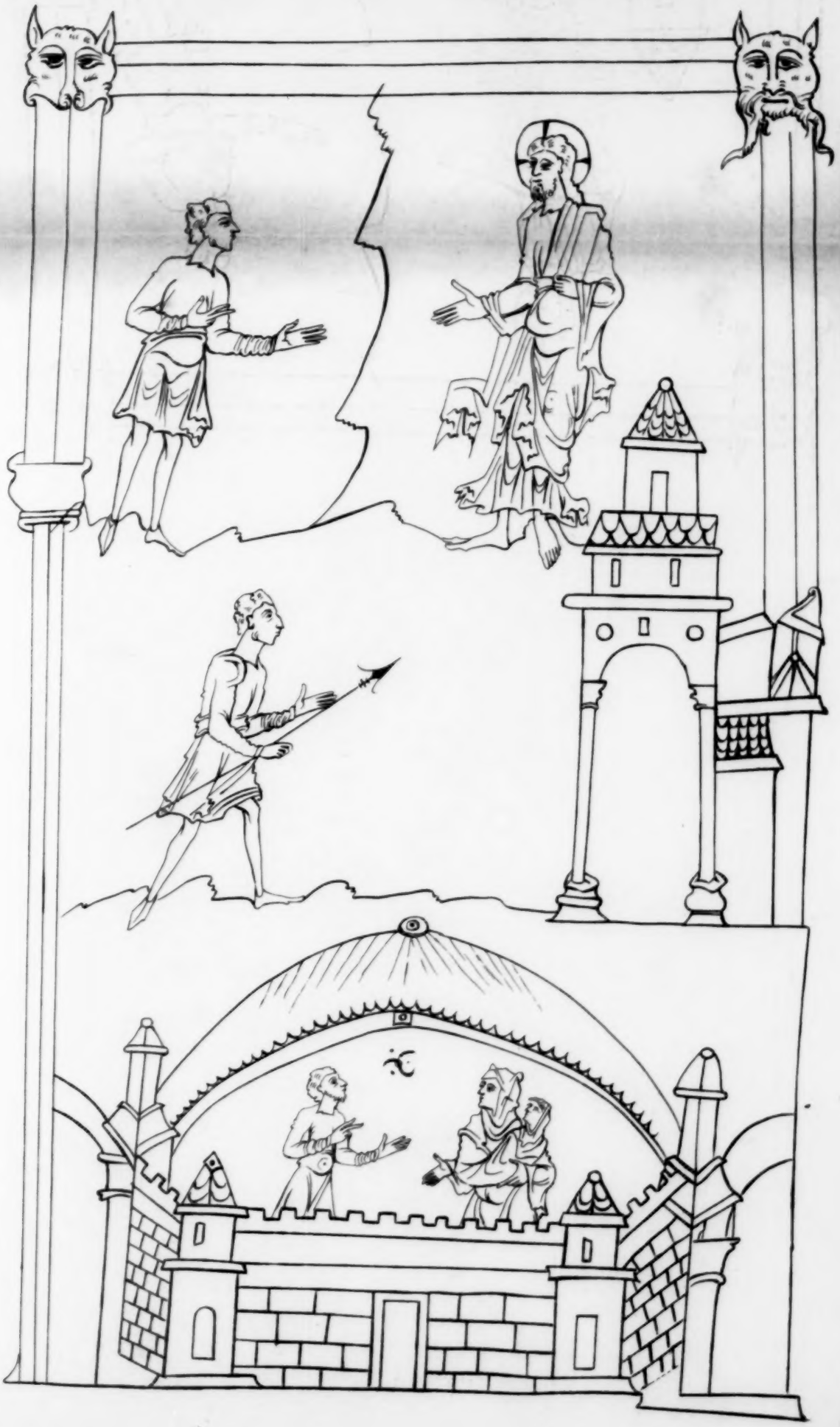


The Birth of Abel.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

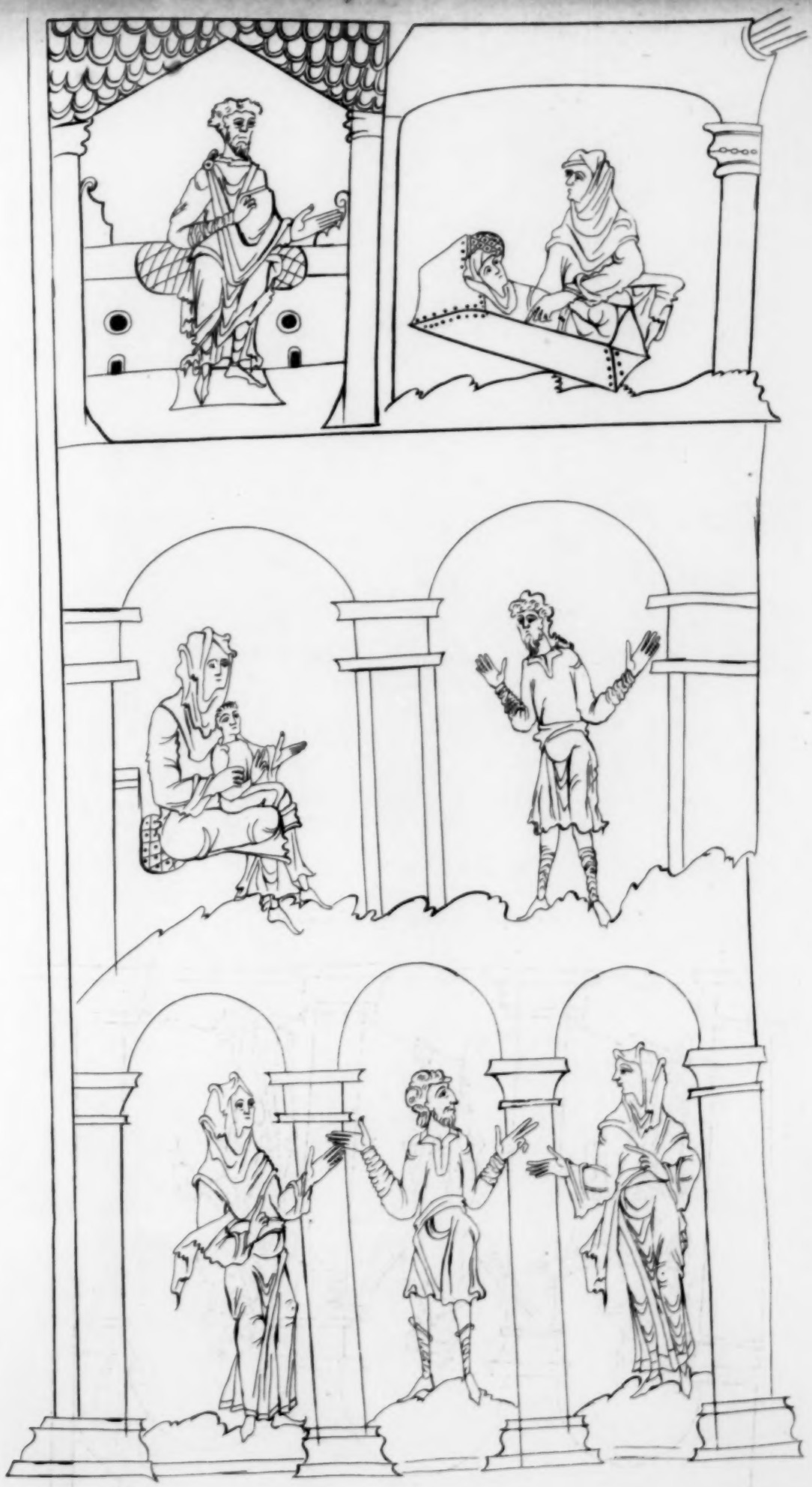
The story of Cain and Abel.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1870.



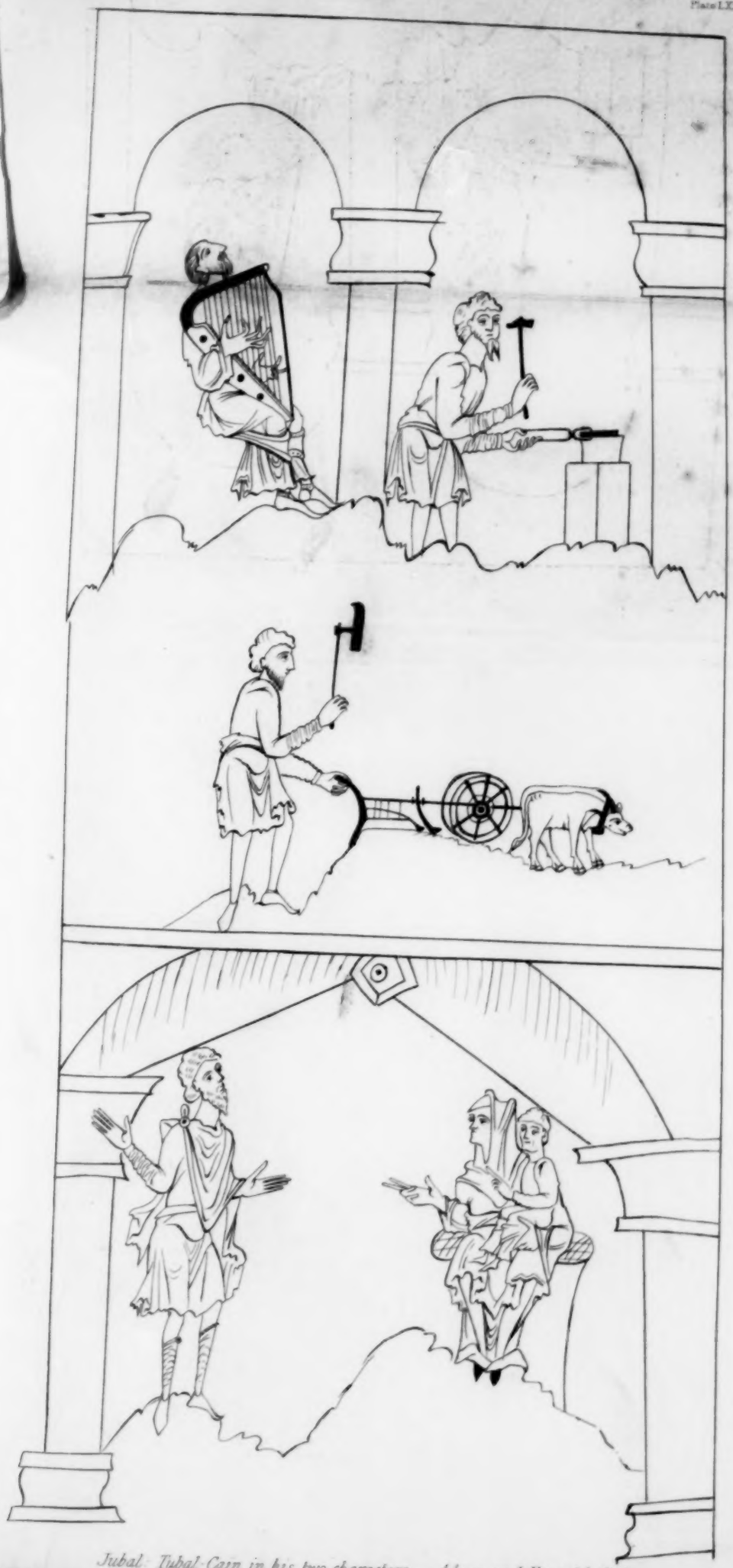
Cain a wanderer: he builds the City of Enoch.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1852.



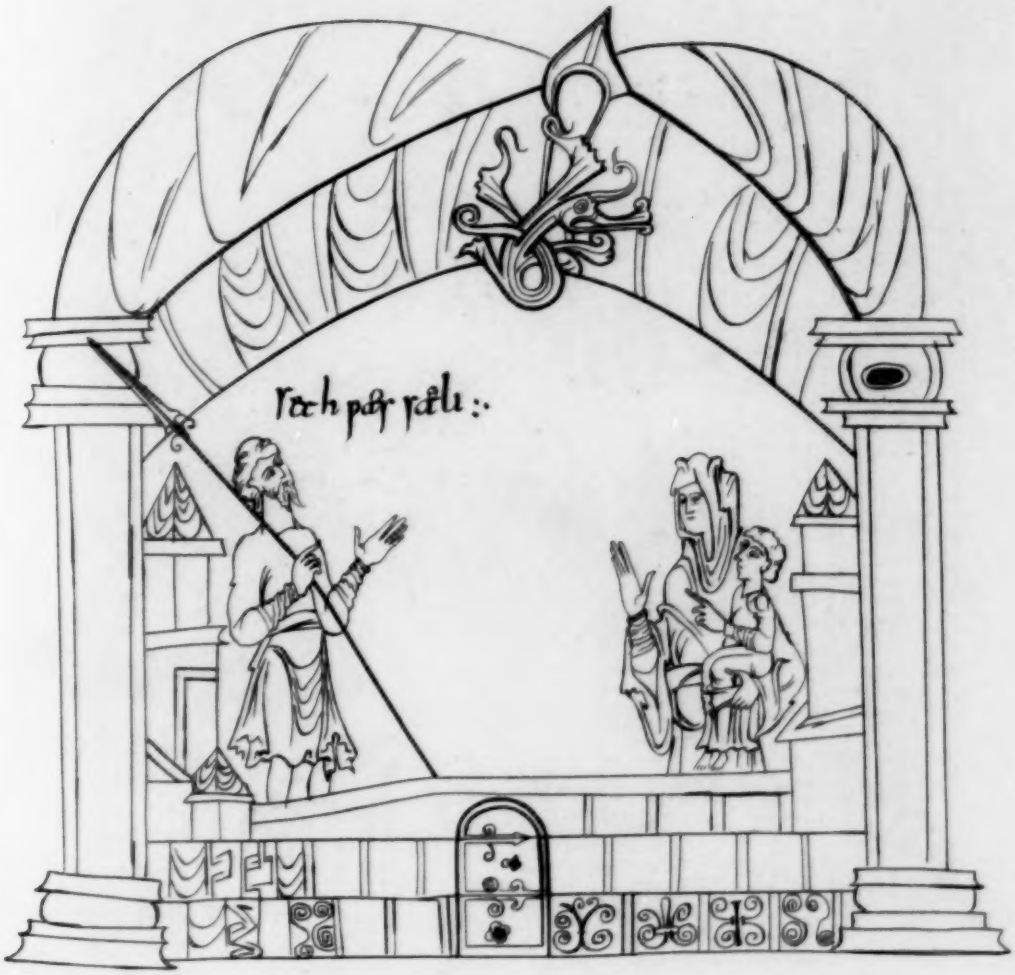
Members of the Posterity of Adam

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April 1884.



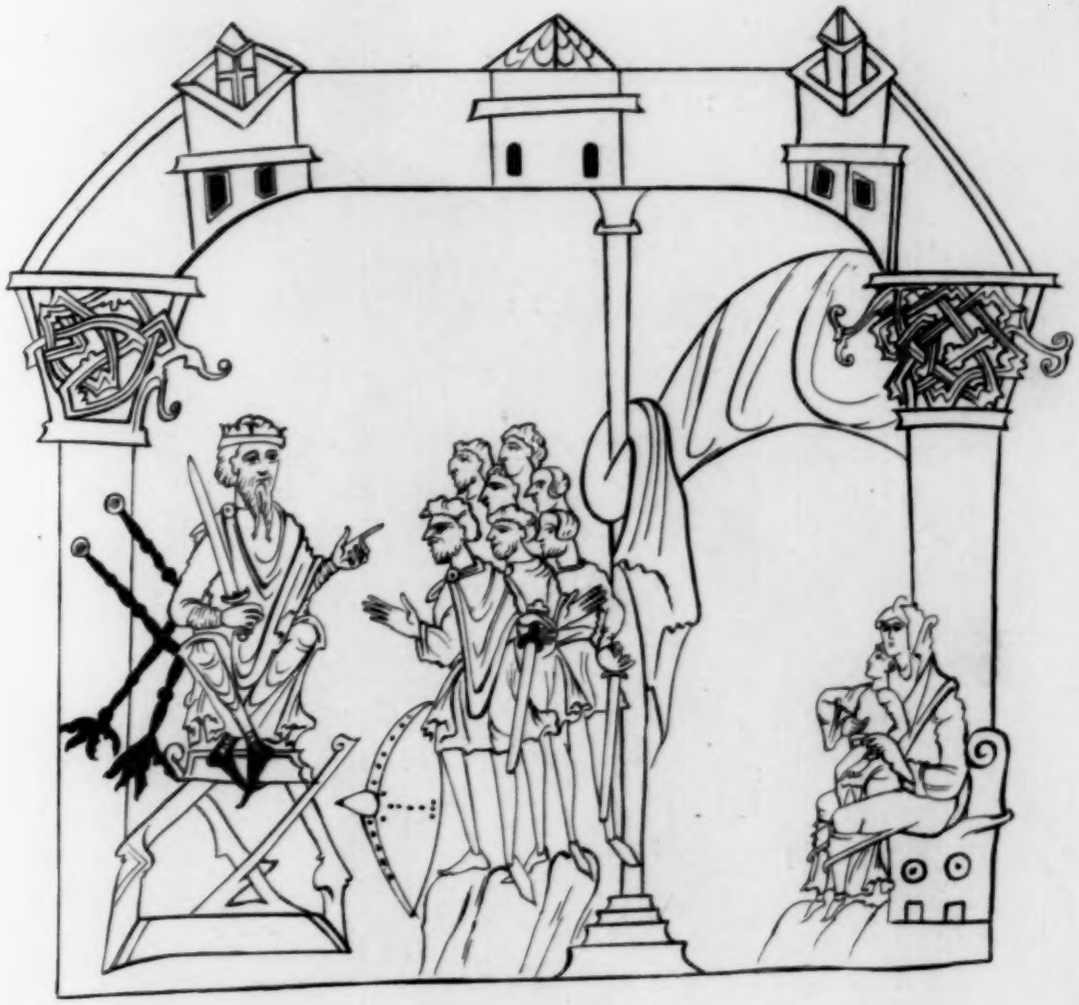
Jubal. Tubal Cain in his two characters. Adam and Eve with Seth.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th April, 1831.



Seth in his prosperity.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

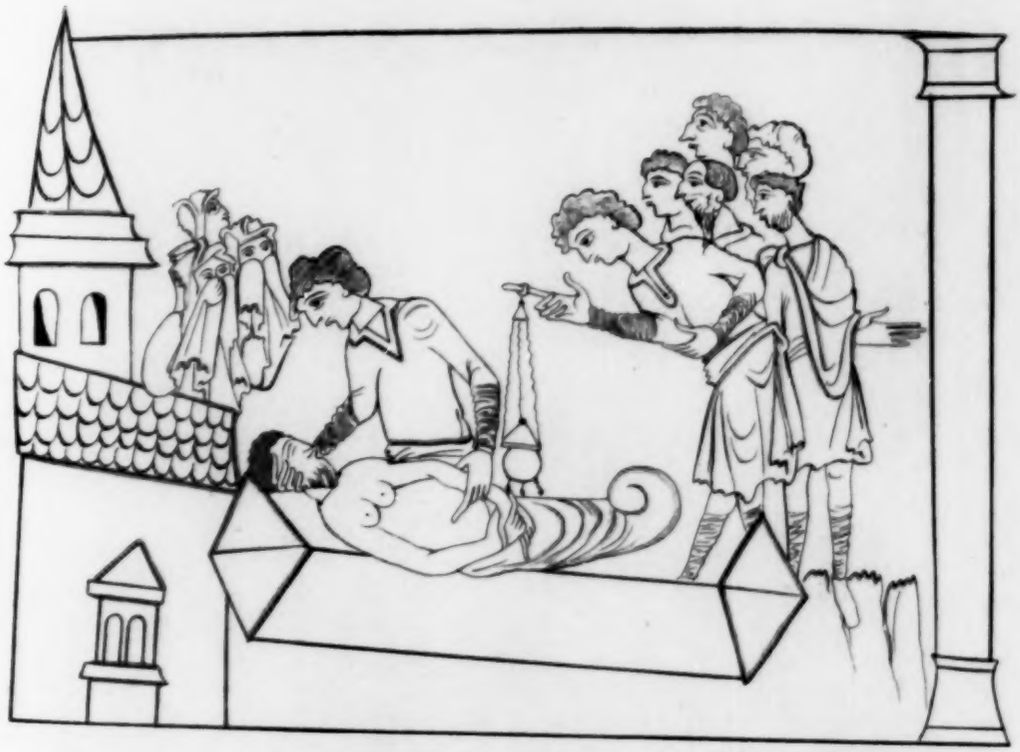


Enos the son of Seth, and his family.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April 1833.

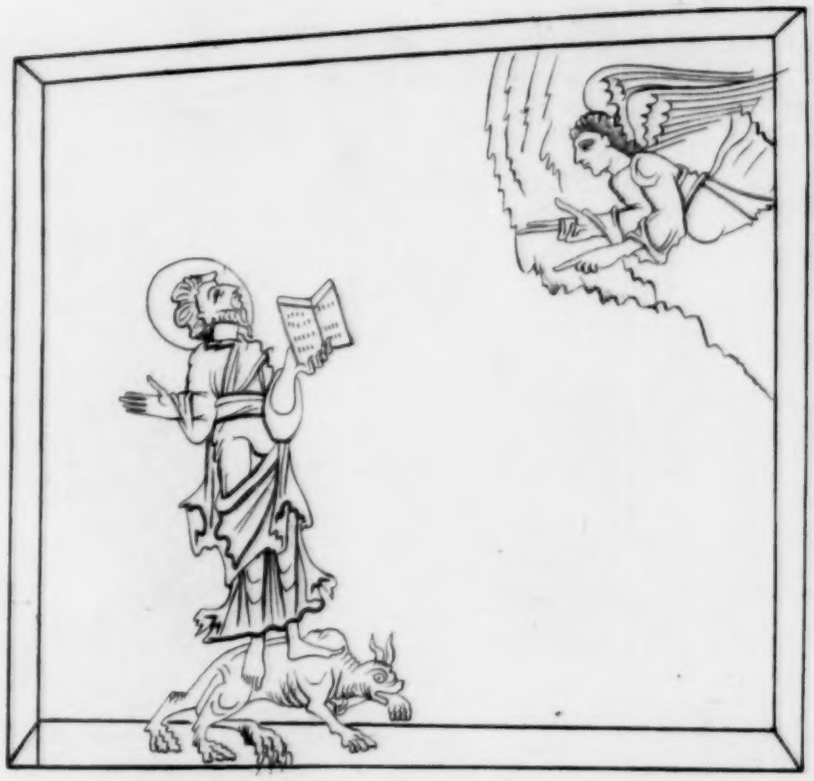
Mahalaleel?

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April 1832.



The burial of Mahalaleel.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1832.



An Angel conversing apparently with Enoch.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April, 1811.

The Translation of Enoch.

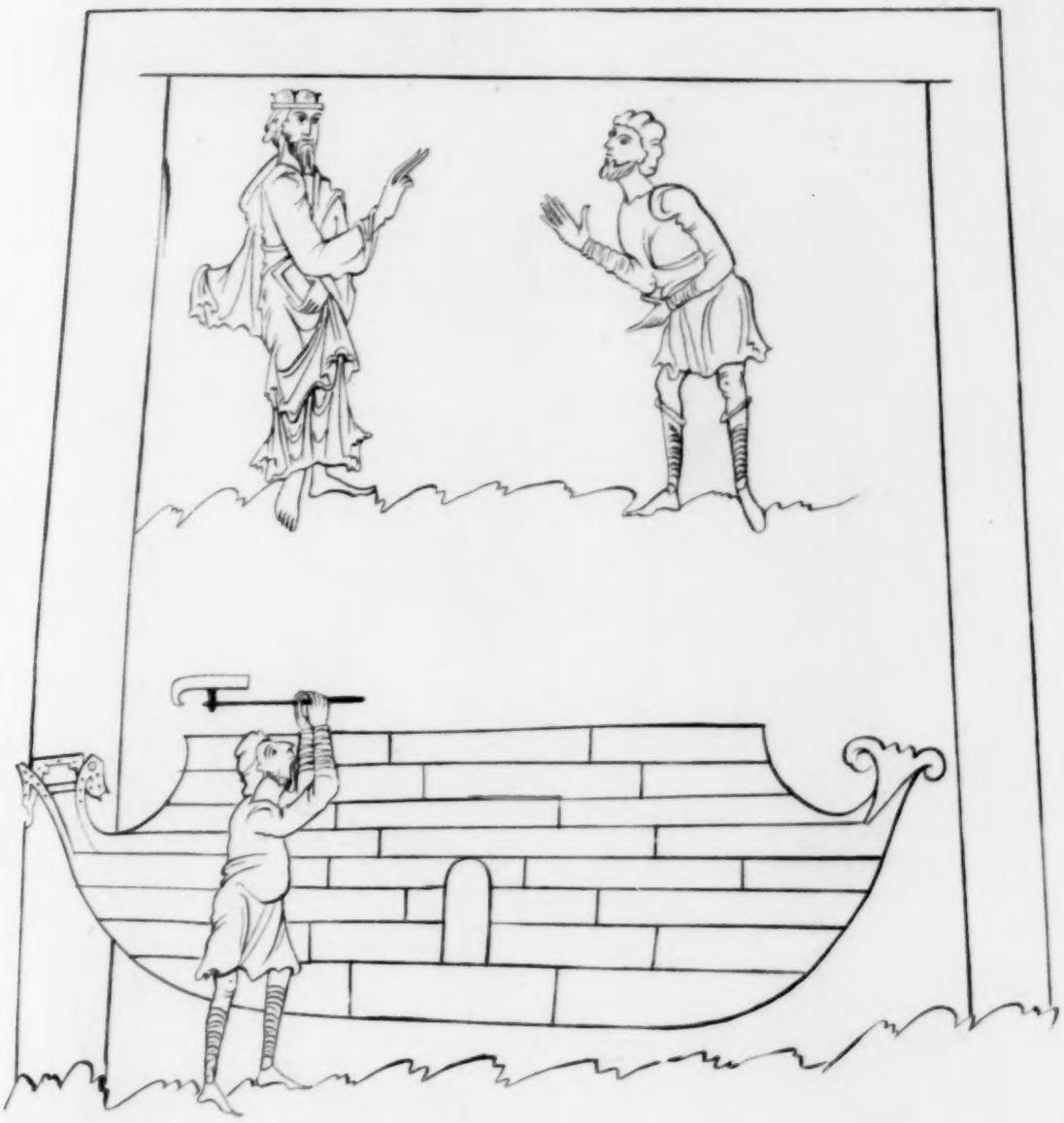
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 17 April, 1832.

Mathuselah and his Sons. *The Birth of Noah.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1836.

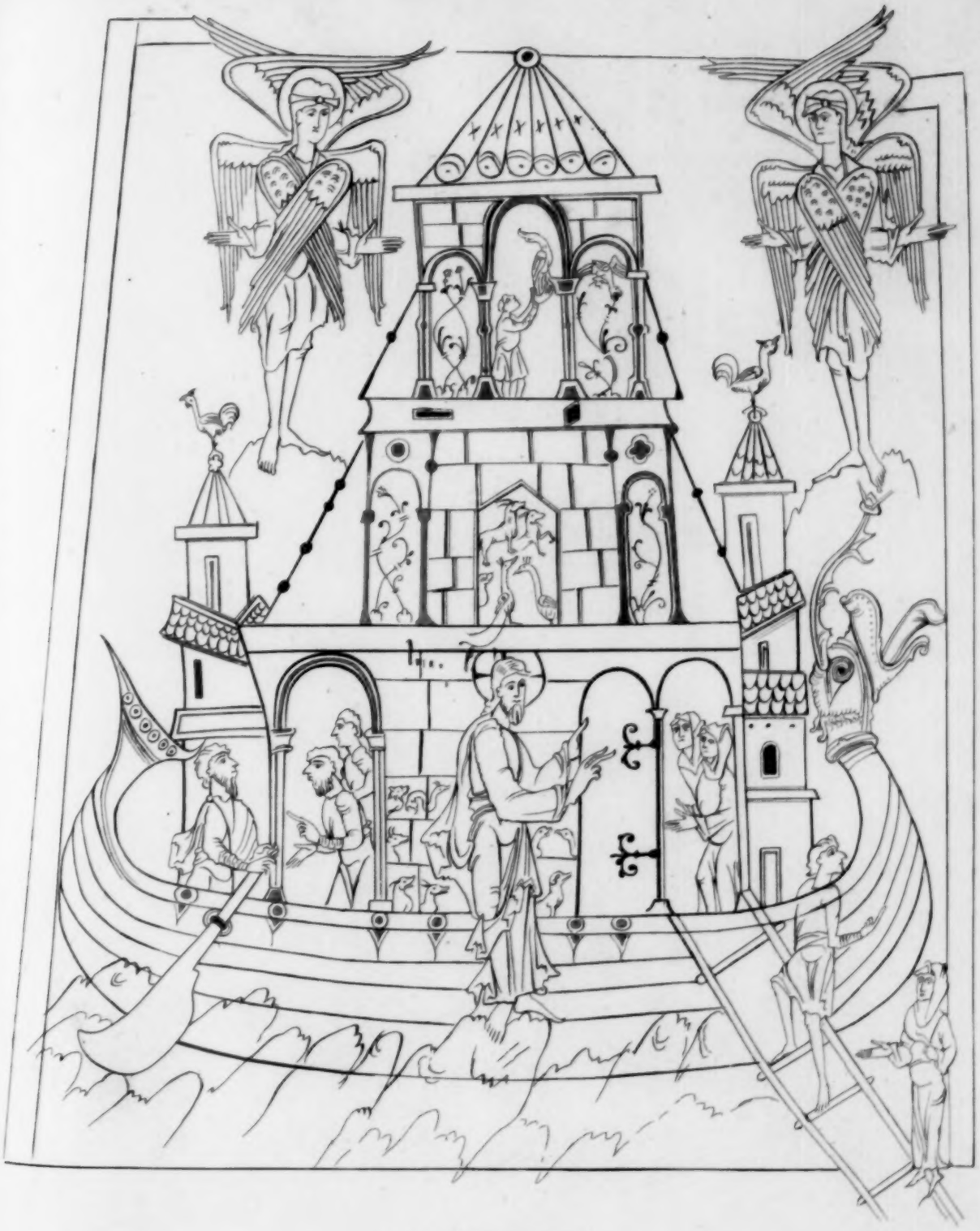
Scenes in the Lives of Lamech and Noah.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April 1853.



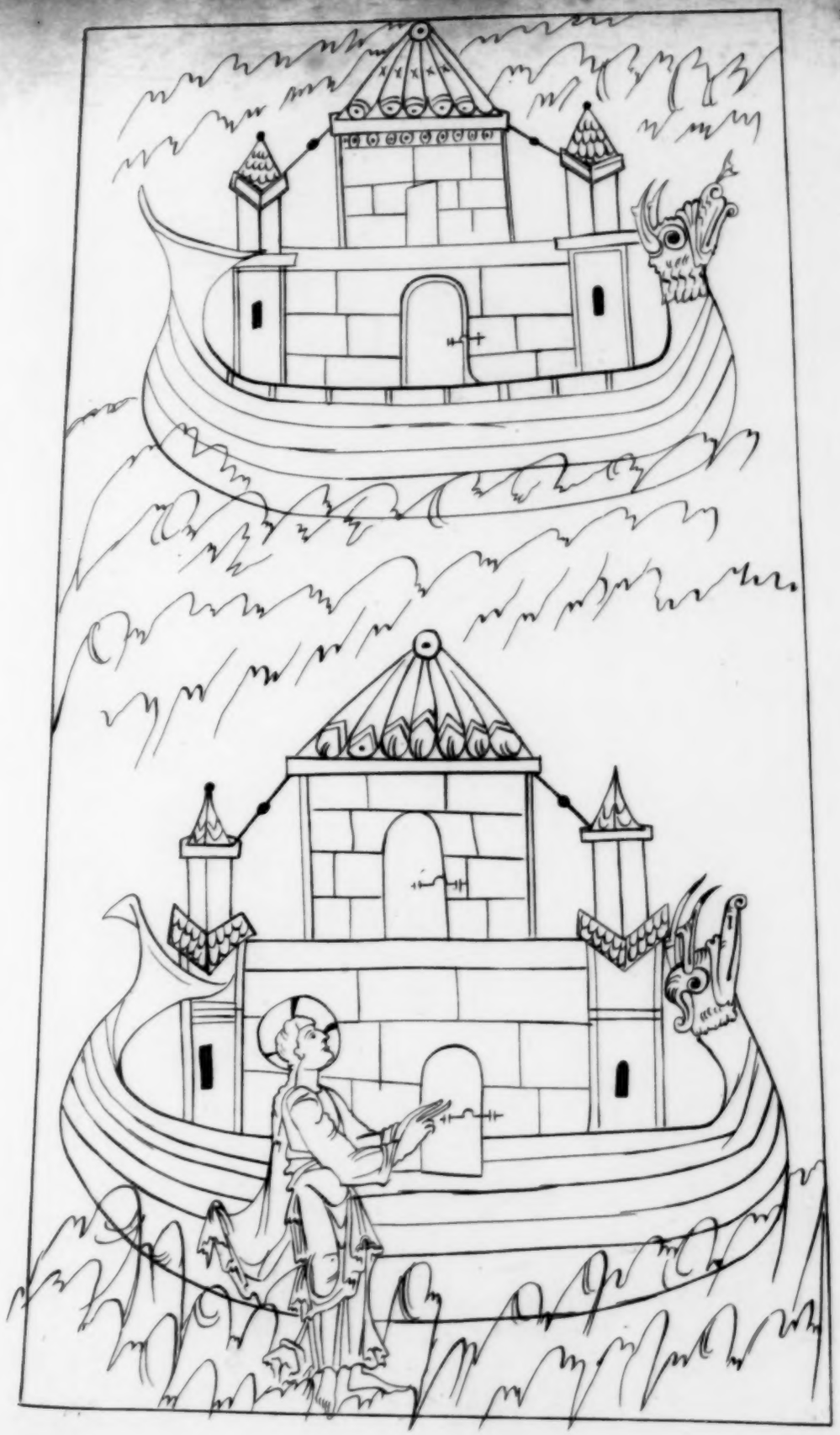
God's command to build the Ark: and its commencement.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April, 1832.



The Ark completed.

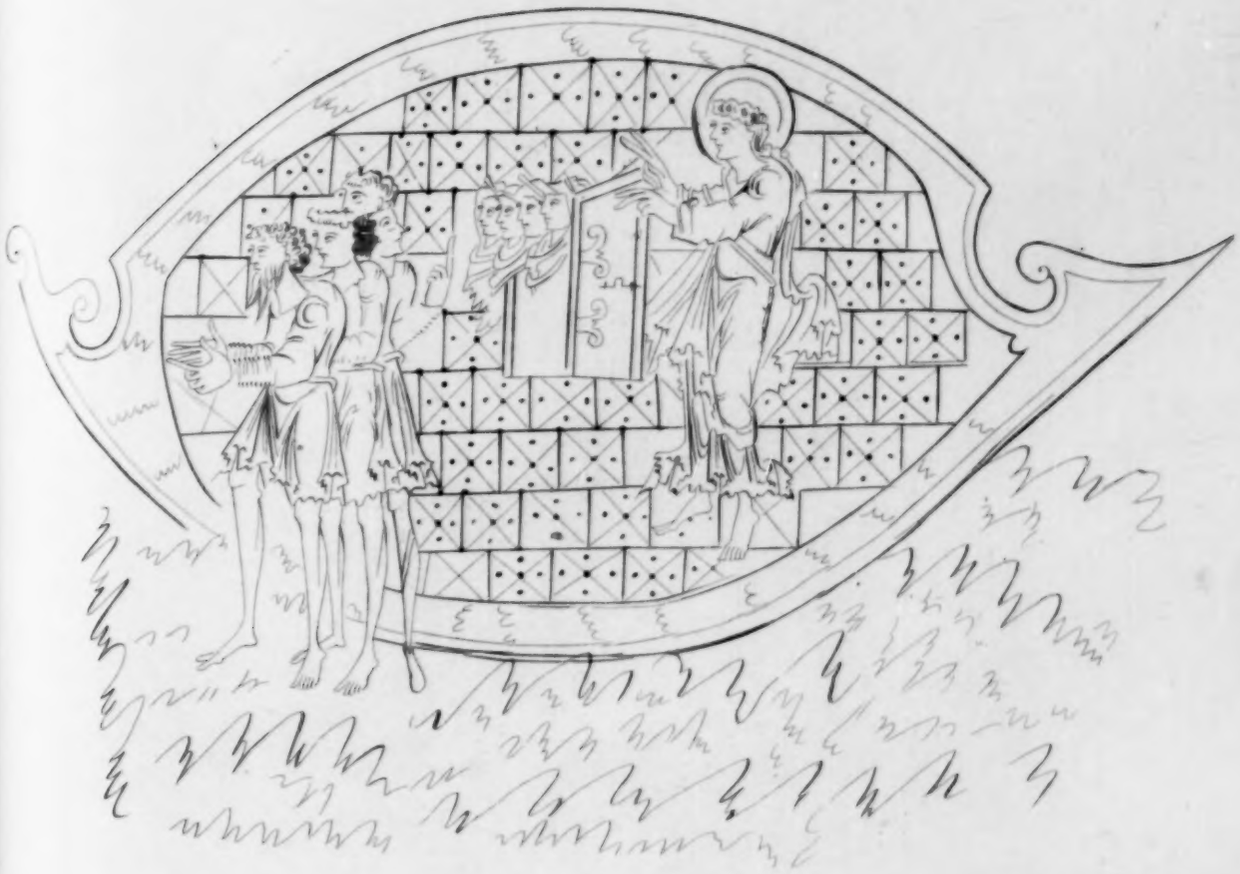
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April, 1832.



The Ark afloat. God closing the Entrance.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, [illegible] 1861.

J. Basire sc.



Noah and his Family quitting the Ark.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th April, 1832.

H. Basire sc.

Noah's Sacrifice.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1833.

God's Covenant with Noah.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1833.

Noah cultivating the Earth.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

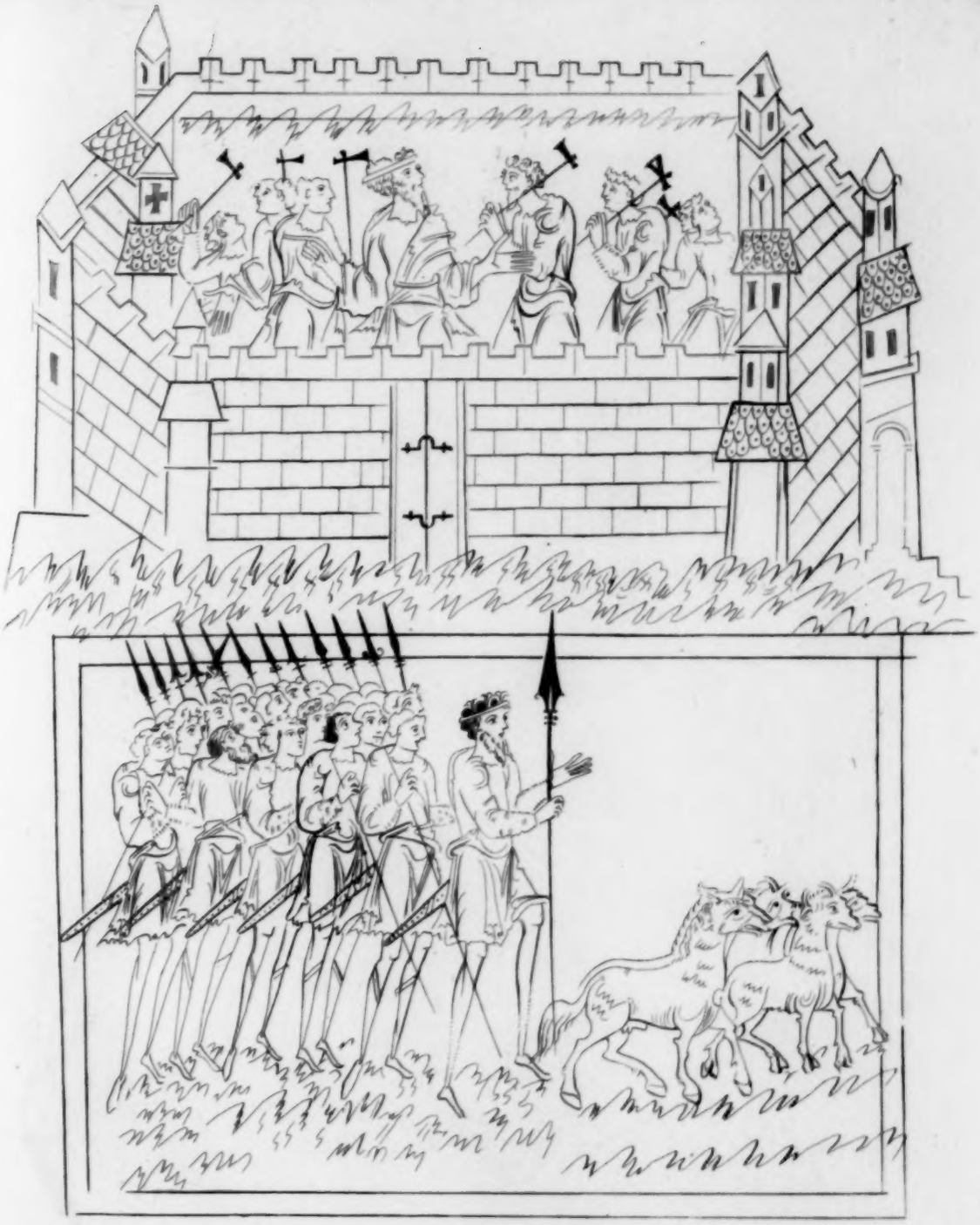
Noah cultivating the Earth.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1832.

Noah's Death and Burial.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 29 April, 1853.

J. Basire, sc.



The Building of Babel planned.

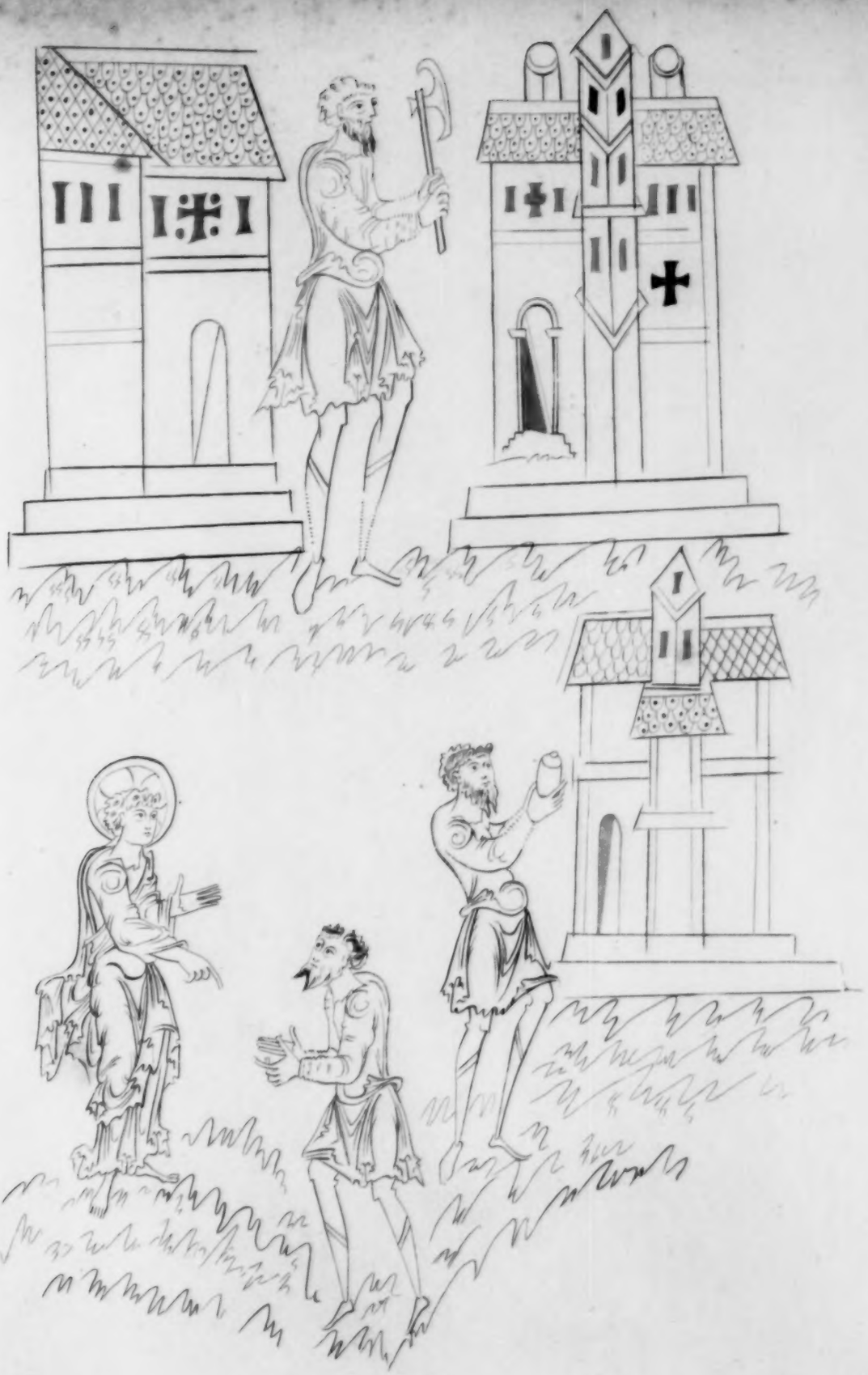
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27th April, 1832.

God's Visit to Babel. The Dispersion.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1853.

The History of Abraham.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April 1831.



Farther Events in Abraham's History.

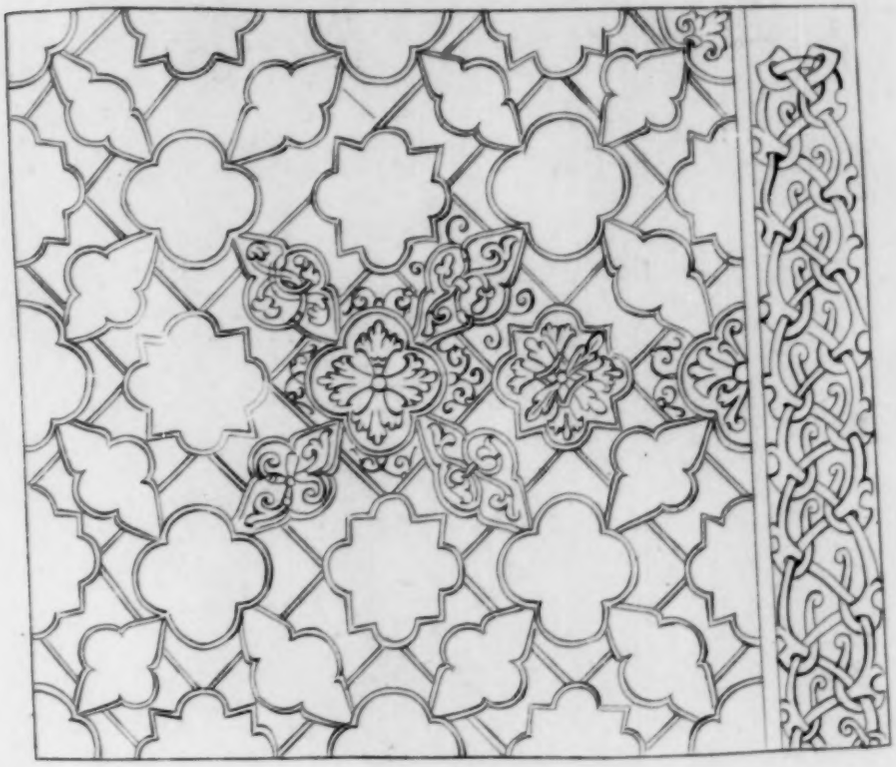
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 19th April, 1853.

Abraham approaching Egypt.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April 1832.

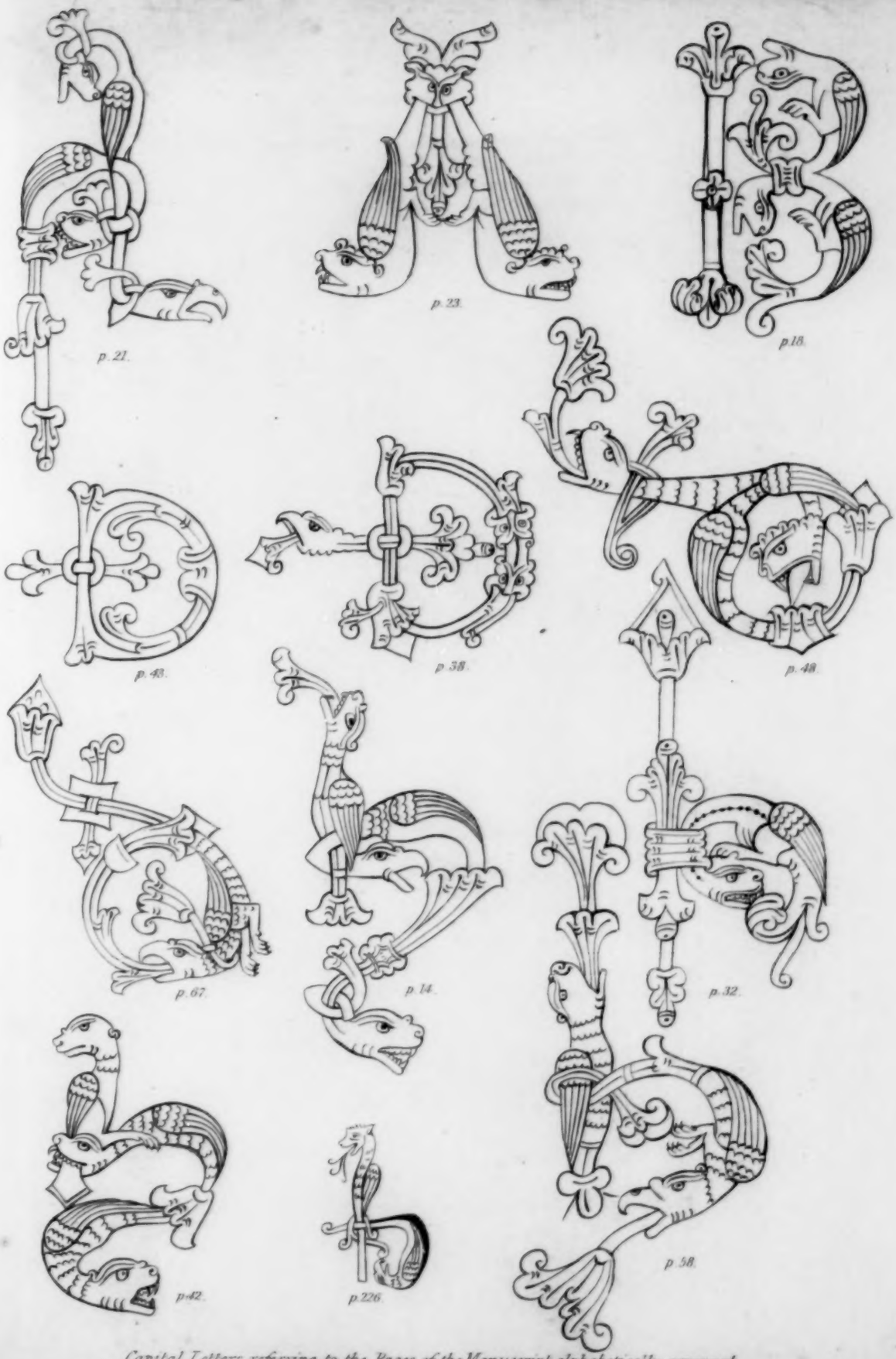
Unfinished Illumination.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.



Ornamental Decoration on p. 225. of the M.S.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.



Capital Letters referring to the Pages of the Manuscript, alphabetically arranged.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1852.

p. 143.

p. 63.

p. 52.

p. 79.

p. 71.

p. 73.

p. 8.

p. 5.

p. 26.

Capital Letters referring to the Pages of the Manuscript alphabetically arranged.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1st April, 1832.

XII. *Observations on the History of Cædmon. By* Francis Palgrave, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter to* Henry Ellis, *Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 24th November, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

It has not perhaps been hitherto remarked that the well-known history of Cædmon has its exact parallel. We learn from a fragment, entitled "Præfatio in librum antiquum linguâ Saxonicâ conscriptum;" published amongst the Epistles of Hincmar Bishop of Rhemes (Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris, 1644, vol. xvi. p. 609), that Ludovicus Pius, being desirous to furnish his subjects with a version of the Holy Scriptures, applied to a *Saxon* Bard of great talent and fame. The Poet, a peasant or husbandman, when entirely ignorant of his art, had been instructed in a dream to render the precepts of the Divine Law into the verse and measure of his native language. His translation, now unfortunately lost, to which the fragment was prefixed, comprehended the whole of the Bible. The text of the original was interspersed with mystic allusions; and the beauty of the composition was so great, that, in the opinion of the writer of the preface, no reader, perusing the verse, could doubt the source of the poetic inspiration of the Bard.

I have endeavoured to show on another occasion (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 168), that the marvellous part of Cædmon's history, as told by Bede, may in some degree be explained by natural causes. But it is scarcely possible that the same extraordinary, though not incredible, developement of poetical talent should have occurred both in Britain and in Gaul. And the history of the so called Cædmon, will perhaps rather appear as one of those tales

floating upon the breath of tradition, and localized from time to time in different countries and in different ages.

But, whatever may have been the true history of our Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, there are strong reasons for supposing that his real name has not been preserved. Most, if not all, of the Anglo-Saxon proper names are significant; and whenever we meet with a name which cannot be fairly resolved into Anglo-Saxon roots, bearing a known and intelligible meaning, we have always the strongest presumptive reasons for supposing that it has been borrowed from some other tongue. Now to the name *Cædmon*, whether considered as a simple or as a compound, no *plain and definite meaning* can be assigned, if the interpretation be sought in the Anglo-Saxon language: whilst that very same name *is* the initial word of the Book of Genesis in the Chaldee paraphrase, or Targum of Onkelos: בקדמין *b'Cadmin* or *b'Cadmon*, (the *b'* is merely a prefix) being a literal translation of *b'Raschith*, or "In principio," the initial word of the original Hebrew text. It is hardly necessary to observe that the books of the Bible are denominated by the Jews from their initial words: they quote and call Genesis by the name of "*b'Raschith*," the Chaldaic Genesis would be quoted and called by the name of "*b'Cadmin*," and this custom adopted by them at least as early as the time of St. Jerome, has continued in use until the present day.

But in addition to the value of the word *Cadmon* as denoting the Chaldaic Book of Genesis, the name of *Adam Cadmon* (אדם קדמון) also holds a most important station in Cabalistic theology; the adjective or epithet (קדמון) *Cadmon* in pure Hebrew signifies *Eastern, Oriental*, or *from the East*;[a] and until we can suggest a better explanation of the name given to the Anglo-Saxon poet, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion, that using the Targum as his text, and being also familiar with the Cabalistic doctrines, he assumed the name of *Cadmon* either from the Book which he translated, or from the Cabalistic nomenclature: or that, having arrived in Britain from the East, he designated himself as the Eastern visitor or pilgrim.

[a] In fact, all these words are derived from קדם the *East*. In their secondary sense the words derived from this root signify beginning or commencement, because it is in the East that we first see the rise or beginning of light and day.

The numerous episodes, especially those relating to the fallen angels, introduced in the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of Genesis, possess an oriental character. There was no Latin version of the Bible in which they could be found, and it may be strongly suspected that they are of Rabbinical origin. No small portion of the allegorical literature, as well as of the philosophy, of the middle ages may be distinctly traced to Rabbinical sources; and the supposition that an Anglo-Saxon might be sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages to enable him to derive this information, is not attended with any improbability.

Duns Scotus was profoundly versed in the Oriental tongues. Venerable Bede himself could read Hebrew; and the fervent zeal with which the study of the Holy Scriptures was pursued during that period of ecclesiastical history included between the age of Saint Jerome and the eleventh century, might easily have induced an Anglo-Saxon monk, or even a layman, during his residence in Palestine, to acquire a knowledge of the language of the Old Testament, and also of that cognate dialect in which its most valuable interpretation is preserved.

The obscurity attending the origin of the Cædmonian poems will perhaps increase the interest excited by them. Whoever may have been their author, their remote antiquity is unquestionable. In poetical imagery and feeling they excel all the other early remains of the North. And I trust I may be allowed to congratulate our Society in having determined to commence their series of Anglo-Saxon publications, by a work which belongs not only to Englishmen, but to every branch of the great Teutonic family.

Yours ever faithfully,

FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

APPENDIX.

Roman Coin-moulds of Clay, found near Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

March 10, 1831. William Knight, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society some Roman clay Coin-moulds which had recently been discovered on a farm near Lingwell Gate, on the Wakefield Outwood, in the township of Stanley and parish of Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

A similar exhibition of Coins and Moulds was made in the year 1812,[a] and again in 1820,[b] discovered apparently about the same spot which Camden speaks of in his Britannia: "Here," he says, "were found, in 1697, certain clay Moulds for Roman Coins, all of such Emperors in whose reigns the money is known to have been counterfeited. This place takes its name from the *Lingones*, quartered at Olicana, Ilkley, and *Wall*, a corruption of Vallum."

Mr. Knight remarks that the material of which the Moulds now exhibited are made, is quite unlike the soil of the place where they were found, and there is a singularity in one of the Moulds exhibited, in which a coin was discovered, as being very perfect and sharp, which would lead to the supposition that these were not the work of Roman forgers, but that the moulds were used by the Roman General to coin the money with which he paid his troops. Thorp on the Hill, in the neighbourhood of this place, is considered to have been the site of a Roman station.

Notice of some Roman Antiquities found at Harpenden.

March 10, 1831. Charles William Packe, Esq. exhibited to the Society a glass Vase and four small Cups of fine earthenware, found enclosed within a stone cistern at Harpenden, near St. Alban's, in Hertford-

[a] See the Archæologia, vol. xvii. p. 333.

[b] Ibid. vol. xix. p. 412.

shire, in 1829: all, apparently, of Roman manufacture. The height of the glass Vase was fourteen inches and a half; its width six inches and three quarters. A few letters were stamped at the bottom of each Cup.

Roman Altar found in Foster Lane.

May 5, 1831. PHILIP HARDWICK, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society a Roman Altar[a] discovered in the month of December 1830, in excavating for the foundation of the new Goldsmiths' Hall, in Foster Lane, Cheapside. It was found at the depth of fifteen feet below the level of the street, in a stratum of clay.

Discovery of some Roman remains at Ware in Hertfordshire.

November 17, 1831. The following Letter was read from WILLIAM CHADWELL MYLNE, Esq. F.R.S. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, upon some Roman Antiquities recently found in Hertfordshire:

"MY DEAR SIR, New River Head, Oct. 22, 1831.

"On opening ground for the purpose of building a new lock in the valley of the river Lea, about 400 yards north-west of Ware Priory (in the county of Herts), and fifty yards distant from the left bank of the ancient course of the river, there was found, on or about the 5th of August last, at the depth of three feet, in a stratum of peat, the skeleton of a man of ordinary stature.

"From the appearance of the skeleton, it must have been in the peat for a considerable time; it lay quite straight and level, the arms close to the sides, and in a direction east and west. On digging about nine inches deeper, and a little distant from the head, there was found a portion of a steel-yard, which appeared to be of Roman workmanship; and, the weight being missing, I was particular in examining the ground as it was lowered; the bed of peat was about five feet in thickness, and lay upon a firm hard gravel, and at the depth of about fifty-four inches the weight was discovered, together with a brass coin of Domitian. Near the spot was also discovered a

[a] Plate CV.

Roman Altar found in Foster Lane, Cheapside, in excavating for the New Goldsmith's Hall.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 15th April, 1831.

brass candlestick, of curious workmanship, the iron head of an axe, and a finger ring.

"The work of excavation for the new lock proceeded toward the north for some weeks without any further discovery; but on continuing it to the southward, another skeleton was discovered in the peat, of considerable length, in a position similar to the former, with the exception that the left arm lay across the body. Near to this was found a pin, such as were used by females in their hair, a Roman key, two stones (of the natural Hertfordshire concreted gravel) evidently worked for the purpose of grinding, one of which I obtained; also the remains of a large earthen vessel, which it would seem had been of spherical form, having a base and rim of thirty-three inches in circumference. A brass coin of Severus was found at the same time; the inscription round the portrait on the obverse was IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVLIAN. AVG. On the other side, the Emperor holding a globe, with the inscription, RECTOR ORBIS.

"The spot where these discoveries were made, is about a quarter of a mile east (and within sight) of the plain where Alfred is traditionally said to have defeated the Danes, and is separated on the north-east from the high land by the mill-leat, which feeds the town water-mill at Ware; on the east side of this mill-leat is a field called Bury field, where, in the month of February 1811, in digging a ditch to divide it into two inclosures, four stone coffins were discovered at the depth of about three feet; the lids of which were nine inches thick; they lay all adjoining each other, and were distant about 150 yards from the excavation first described. Upon examination it appeared that they contained three male and one female skeletons, and were filled full with a composition, leaving only the form of the bodies, within which space were the bones entire. One, I was informed, was taken to Mr. Rooke's at Hertford, another to Bengeo, and two to Mr. Bacon's near Tewin.

"Whether any account of the discovery of the relics of 1811 was printed I know not; but conceiving that many of the Members of our Society may feel gratified by the inspection of the several articles now discovered, I have taken the liberty of sending them to you; and shall be obliged by your returning them, after they have been exhibited at the Society's meeting.

"The second of the skeletons found at the lock was very entire, and had all the teeth in the head. I have sent them to the College of Surgeons in London. I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"WILLIAM CHADWELL MYLNE."

Roman Altar discovered at Caervoran.

November 24, 1831. Miss CARLYLE communicated to the Society the following Inscription upon an Altar, discovered a few days before at the Roman station of Caervoran on the Roman wall, at Northumberland:

· FORTVNAE · AVG ·
· PRO · SALVTE · L · AELI
· CAESARIS · EX · VISV ·
· I · FLA · SECVNDVS ·
PRAEF · CoH · I · HAM
IORVM · SAGITTAR
· V · S · L · M

together with a sketch of the excavated spot, and the form and position of the Altar.

Bar of a Purse or Pouch.

February 2, 1832. The Rev. Samuel James Allen, of Salesbury, in Lancashire, exhibited the brass Bar of a Purse or Pouch, such as is often seen on sepulchral effigies attached to the girdles of merchants. It was found at Over Darwen, near Blackburn, and was inscribed, on the two sides,

AVE MÆ GRĀ PLENA
DOMINVS TECVM

And in the centre of the two sides:

ihs A
M

A Purse-bar, of similar form and inscription, is engraved in vol. XVII. pl. xi. of the Archæologia.

Gold Coin of Frederick the Second, Emperor of Germany.

December 15, 1831. William Hamilton, Esq. V.P. exhibited to the Society a Gold Coin of Frederick the Second, Emperor of Germany. It has on one side the figure of an Eagle, with the name *Fridericus*; on the other the Emperor's head (in the style of the Coins of the Lower Empire) laureated, with the inscription, *Cæsar Aug. Imp. Rom.*

Frederick the Second was the son of the Emperor Henry the Sixth and Constance, daughter and heiress of Roger King of Naples and Sicily, and was born in 1196. He was chosen King of the Romans in his father's lifetime, and was crowned at Aix la Chapelle in 1210. He became Emperor in 1212, was crowned at Rome in 1215, and died in 1250.

This Coin, together with another in gold of similar type, is engraved in Jameray du Val's work upon the Gold Money in the Emperor's Cabinet at Vienna, fol. Vienna, 1759. And another Coin of Frederic II. struck at Pisa, is engraved in Joachim's Groschen Cabinet, 8° Leips. 1739, tom. ii. tab. i. fig. 5. See the Letter-press of Joachim, p. 17.

No specimen of any Coin of Frederick II. is to be found in the large col-

lection of German Coins made by order of King George the Third, and now preserved in the British Museum: nor in the collection of Foreign Coins, preserved there, which formerly belonged to Mrs. Banks.

A treatise, entitled "Epistola de Numo Frederici II. Imperatoris," by D. A. Kellerhaus, was printed at Jena, in 4to. 1701.

The Coin exhibited, has been since presented to the British Museum.

Sketch-book of Inigo Jones.

December 22, 1831. The following Letter from J. Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A. was read, addressed to Thomas Amyot, Esq. Treasurer, illustrative of a Fac-simile of the Sketch-book of Inigo Jones, presented to the Library of the Society by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire:

23, Hunter-street, Brunswick-square,
Dec. 22, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am directed by the Duke of Devonshire to present to the Society of Antiquaries a Fac-simile of the Sketch-book of Inigo Jones; and I may with peculiar propriety make you the medium of this communication, inasmuch as his Grace in the first instance, and as a personal testimony, gave you a copy of it. The original is a relic of extraordinary value and curiosity, consisting of drawings in pen and ink, with accompanying illustrative remarks and general observations, entirely by the hand of the Architect of the Banqueting House at Whitehall; and it affords evidence of the great diligence, as well as of the skill and taste of the author. It was made while he was in Italy in the year 1614.

"The Sketches are not only from statues and reliefs, but from pictures by the most celebrated masters of the Italian schools, and the motto chosen by this distinguished man, and prefixed to his Sketch-book, supplies an interesting characteristic, shewing that, at the age of forty-two, Inigo Jones thought himself happy only while he was improving his taste, enlarging his mind, and laying in fresh stores of science—

'*Altro diletto che imparar non trovo.*'

"Another circumstance connected with this production deserves notice. It is known that Inigo Jones evinced his earliest fondness for the arts in Landscape Painting, and in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chiswick

is a rare specimen of his skill in this department. Although Inigo Jones had been appointed Architect to the King of Denmark before the year 1606, the Sketch-book does not contain a single design, hint, or note, of or for any building, public or private; while it is obvious from every page, that the author was studying the human figure with great care, and delineating the features of the human face in minute detail. Hence it would seem, that in 1614 he was devoting his attention very much to painting and sculpture; as if anxious to supply deficiencies of which he was aware, and as if this, his second visit to the Continent, had been undertaken chiefly with that purpose. It will be seen that nothing was too great for his ambition, nothing too insignificant for his observation, from the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo to the simplest folds of drapery.

"The Sketch-book of Inigo Jones also serves to clear up a point in his biography; of the more importance, because it has relation to his quarrel with Ben Jonson. On the first page it bears the date of 'Rome, 1614,' which at once settles the question disputed by Mr. Gifford and Mr. A. Chalmers, whether the disagreement between Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson 'commenced in 1614.' Of course, it could not 'commence' while Inigo Jones was in Italy, and the hostility certainly did not break out until a much later period, *viz.* Christmas 1631-2. Inigo Jones at that date took offence that Ben Jonson had omitted his name on the title-page of the Masque of 'Chloridia,' on the preparations and scenery for which Inigo Jones had been engaged. This circumstance establishes, that Ben Jonson had no reference to Inigo Jones in his 'Bartholomew Fair,' acted in 1614, the very year when Inigo Jones was in Italy, while it tends to fix upon him the ridicule contained in "The Tale of a Tub," which was performed in 1633.

"The precise date when Inigo Jones returned to England has not been ascertained, but his departure has been erroneously stated to have taken place in 1612. It appears by a Privy Seal, published by me in 'The Annals of the Stage and History of Dramatic Poetry," that Inigo Jones was engaged in January 1612-13 in making arrangements for a Masque at Court. He probably left this country soon afterwards.

The Sketch-book is only a very small part of the valuable remains connected with the life and reputation of Inigo Jones, transmitted to the Duke

of Devonshire by the celebrated Earl of Burlington. Inigo Jones, with some interruptions in consequence of absence from England, superintended most of the court entertainments from the accession of James the First to the commencement of the Civil Wars; and at Devonshire House are preserved the original designs, not only of the scenes but of the characters for the Masques at the different royal residences. The details of all the fantastic habiliments are given with the utmost minuteness, both as to form and colour; and the sketches for large views of rocks, water-falls, woods, palaces or temples, illustrate most remarkably the contrivances for the representation of those splendid shows which were the peculiar delight of our first Stuart and of his unfortunate successor.

"With regard to the execution of the Fac-simile which accompanies this letter, as I carefully watched its progress through the hands of the Lithographer, I may be allowed to say that it is both faithful and spirited, and that it gives an exact notion, externally and internally, of the original. Having gone over the pages of the manuscript while it was in my custody, you also can bear testimony to the accuracy of the imitation.

"The impressions were limited very far below the demands upon the liberality of the Duke of Devonshire; but his Grace felt that Antiquaries must take a peculiar interest in the subject, and, although not himself a Member, his known attachment to the objects of this Society, and his strong desire to promote them, have induced his Grace to send a copy for its acceptance. I am, dear Sir, your sincere and obliged,

"J. PAYNE COLLIER."

Account of some ancient Bricks found at St. Katherine's Docks.

March 1, 1832. Alfred John Kempe, Esq. F.S.A. submitted to the inspection of the Society Casts from six ancient Bricks impressed with designs in bas-relief, accompanied by the following account:

These bricks were found during the late excavation for the Saint Katherine's Docks.

The subject of the first is the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; of the second the Nativity of our Saviour; the third appears by the Lion to be a representation of the Evangelist St. Mark; the fourth bears the figure of St. John, the eagle holding his ink-horn. Both the Evangelists are delineated in the act of writing their respective Gospels.

The design of the fifth brick is not scriptural, but intended for a representation of some naval combat, celebrated in Roman history, as may be inferred from the costume of the figures. Probably the battle of Actium. In the prow of one of the vessels (in a similar taste to many other examples of historical designs in the middle age), an anachronism is observable in the appropriation of offensive weapons; a *Roman soldier* is represented in the act of discharging a *hand-gun*.

The sixth Brick is impressed with a head, bold in its lineaments, and wearing an over-arched crown. On either side two dolphins connected with ornamental scroll-work.

These bricks are all of the same dimensions, and evidently of the same period; that is, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, or it may be a little earlier.

Stamped Bricks of this kind and age are articles of considerable rarity, and our Antiquaries of the last century appear to have been much in error with respect to their makers.

In Bagford's Letter, appended to the Editor's introduction to the later edition of Leland's Collectanea, a stamped Brick is noticed, which was found in Mark Lane in 1670, about twenty-eight feet below the level of the street, impressed with the story of Samson destroying the standing corn of the Philistines by attaching firebrands to the tails of foxes.[a] Bagford was disposed to consider this brick *Roman*, and from the circumstance of some parched corn having been found at the same time near the spot, that it had formed the key-brick of a vaulted granary erected in the Roman times. The very plain fact that the bas-relief on the brick represented the Scripture story stood much in the way of this opinion. An Antiquary's conjecture is not, however, easily defeated, and Bagford got rid of the

[a] See Judges, chap. xv.

improbability that the Pagan Romans should represent the deeds of Samson on a brick, by the suggestion that some Jews might wander into Britain, settle there under the Roman Emperors, erect a granary in a Roman Mercatorium or *Mart*, in *Mart* Lane, since, he supposes by corruption, called Mark Lane; and thus it happened that Samson's stratagem against the enemy of God's people was represented on a brick of the Roman age.

By a communication inserted in the first volume of the Archæologia it appears that this brick was still, at a later date, considered to be *Roman*; but Dr. Tovey, the author of that paper, feeling dissatisfied with the manner in which the subject of its bas-relief had been explained by Bagford, referred it to a story in the Fasti of Ovid;[b] to which, by several evident discrepancies, it had no real relation.[c]

The Brick, engraved by Bagford, in form, dimensions, and character, corresponded exactly with those found at St. Katherine's docks, as may be ascertained by a comparison with the print in the Introduction to Leland's Collectanea. This Brick, and the burnt corn found with it, probably came from the ruins of some old house which had existed in Mark Lane before the fire of London.

Considerable light was afterwards thrown on the age of Bagford's Brick, by the discovery of another of the same kind in the year 1808, in an old well at Gravesend; on which was impressed the story of the conversion of St. Hubert. Mr. Cruden of Gravesend published a small octavo pamphlet on the subject of that discovery, and of stamped Bricks in general, and plainly demonstrated that they could be no older than the period of Henry VIIIth. or the early part of the reign of Henry VIIth.

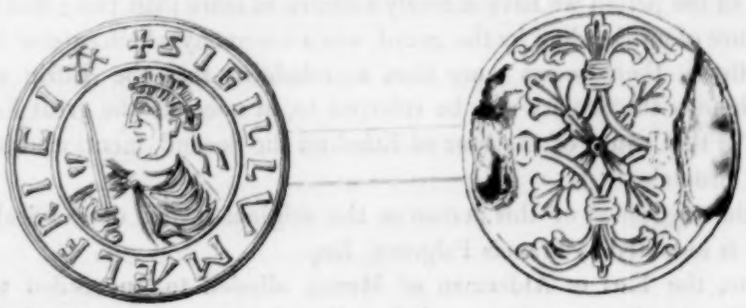
Mr. Kempe is of opinion, from the external appearance of the six stamped Bricks from St. Katherine's in his possession, that they were employed to decorate fire-places, before the introduction of the coloured and glazed Dutch tiles, used for that purpose, and Mr. Cruden in his pamphlet makes the same conjecture.

[b] Ovidii Fasti, lib. iv. 701.

[c] See Mr. Cruden's Description of an ornamented Brick. London, 1825, p. 13.

Account of the discovery of the Matrix of an Anglo-Saxon Seal.

May 3, 1832. Mr. Henry Barnes, of Southgate Street, Winchester, exhibited to the Society by the hands of Mr. Ellis, the Matrix of a Seal evidently of the Anglo-Saxon times, which was found on the 29th of March 1832, by a labourer, in cutting away a bank by the side of the road leading from Winchester to Stockbridge, about three quarters of a mile from Winchester, in the parish of Week. This Seal is of brass, and bears the half-figure (the face in profile) of an official person. The robe or cloak in which the figure is represented, is similar to what may be seen upon many of the Anglo-Saxon Coins, and the fillet, diadem, or head-attire, is very similar to that which is seen upon the obverse of some of the Coins of Ethelred the Second. The person represented bears in his right hand a sword; and round an inner circle, which contains the figure, is this Inscription, ZIGILLVM ÆLFRICI, followed by a monogram in a thinner character, apparently formed of the letters A and V conjoined. The back or reverse of the Seal is tooled, with a device very similar to the reverses of some of the Saxon Coins.[d]



That Seals were in use among the Anglo-Saxons is certain. Impressions are extant of the Seal of King Edward the Confessor. Two impressions are also extant from the Anglo-Saxon Seal of the Abbey of Wilton, upon which a Dissertation from the pen of Francis Douce, Esq. appeared in the eighteenth Volume of the Archæologia. One portion of the

[d] Impressions from this Seal, in sulphur, for such members of the Society as may be desirous to possess them, have been prepared by Mr. Doubleday.

ancient Seal of St. Cuthbert, Durham, (that which bears the cross) is undoubtedly of the Anglo-Saxon time; and in 1822 the very beautiful matrix of the Seal of Ethelwald, Bishop of Dunwich, which had been found at Eye in Suffolk, was exhibited to the Society by Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P., and afterwards deposited in the British Museum. It is engraved in the twentieth Volume of the Archæologia, and was judiciously appropriated by Mr. Gurney to its owner, as of a date some time before the year 870, in a short Memoir. The present then may be considered as the fifth of the Anglo-Saxon Seals, of unquestionable authenticity, which have come down to us. The letter S upon this Seal is formed by a reversed Z; which letter likewise appears in the same shape upon the Seal of Wilton Abbey, upon that of St. Cuthbert at Durham, and upon the Seal of Ethelwald.

The introduction of the sword upon the Seal exhibited, tends to narrow a search, which must have gone very far a-field, had the portrait which it preserves been adorned with any ornament or appendage of an ecclesiastical character; for among persons of the spiritual order, in the later Saxon times, few names were of more frequent occurrence than that of Ælfric. Whilst among the laymen of the period we have scarcely a choice of more than two; and if the investiture of an Earldom by the sword, was a ceremony which existed in the Saxon times, there seems more than a probability that the Ælfric whose Seal is before the Society may be referred to, at once, as the great Earl of Mercia of that name, of the time of Ethelred the Second, mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle.

For the suggestion of this person as the original owner of the Seal, the Society is indebted to Francis Palgrave, Esq.

Ælfric, the Earl or Alderman of Mercia alluded to, succeeded to his high office in the year 983; and for alleged treason of some kind was exiled in 985. When he returned is not stated; but in 992 he commanded Ethelred's fleet. In 1003 he gathered the forces of Hampshire and Wiltshire, as was supposed, in support of Ethelred against Sweyn; but, pretending sickness, he treacherously betrayed the army which he ought to have commanded, to the Danes. Whether his Seal was thrown away or lost on this occasion, must be matter of conjecture; but a Seal bearing the name of Ælfric, decidedly of the time of the Earl of Mercia, has been found in

Hampshire. Ælfric was succeeded in the Earldom of Mercia, by Edric, in 1007.

Several of our historians represent Ælfric Earl of Mercia as having fallen in battle fighting in favour of Edmund Ironside, at Ashdown, in 1016; the battle which is usually placed at the Bartlow Hills. But from the circumstance of Edric succeeding to the Earldom of Mercia in 1007, it seems probable that the Earl Ælfric who fell at Ashdown was a different person from the Earl of Mercia.

The only other Ælfric of note, mentioned among the laymen of the Anglo-Saxon Annals at the period in question, was Ælfric the brother of Odda Earl of Devonshire, whose death is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle in 1053, and who was buried at Pershore Abbey.

ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1831.

We the Auditors, appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 8th day of March, 1832, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December, 1831, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Account the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				92	5	7½
RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1831.						
By Admissions of Members elected . . .	142	16	0			
By annual Subscriptions including Arrears . . .	869	8	0			
By dividends on £7,200 stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th Jan. and 5th July 1831	216	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	96	10	4			
By Stamp-duty on Bonds	16	10	0			
				1341	4	4
By Composition in lieu of annual Subscription . .				168	0	0
				£1601	9	11½

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, £7,200.

DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1831.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in the Expenses of the Publications of the Society	622	5	5			
For Taxes	52	2	3			
For Tradesmen's Bills, Coals, Candles, and House Expenses	142	5	7			
For Salaries	422	15	0			
For Incidental Expenses, *viz.*						
Insurance	22	11	0			
Cleaning and hanging Pictures	20	6	0			
Anniversary Dinner	24	14	0			
Dugdale's Monasticon	7	17	6			
Stamps for Bonds and Receipts	8	10	0			
Sundries, Postage, Advertisements, and petty Cash	64	2	5			
Watering the street	2	2	0			
Collecting Subscriptions	42	12	4			
				1432	3	6
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, 1st of Jan. 1832				169	6	5½
				£1601	9	11½

The Treasurer has reported to us that he has made various Disbursements, not included in this Account now audited, towards the publication of the Anglo-Saxon works undertaken by the Society, in consequence of the resolution passed at their meeting on the 17th day of March 1831. But that no portion of such Disbursements has yet been paid out of the funds of the Society, there having been Subscriptions in aid of the expenses of publication paid into the hands of the Treasurer, amounting to the sum of £215:—*viz.* from

The Earl of Aberdeen, President	£100
Hudson Gurney, Esq. V.P.	105
Lord Bexley	10*

A Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements on this Account will be rendered at the next year's Audit.

Witness our hands this 28th day of March 1832.

(Signed) BEXLEY.
WM. SOTHEBY.
FRANCIS PALGRAVE.
EDW. HAWKINS.

* To these Subscriptions the following have since been added, *viz.*
Sir John Swinburne, Bart. £5.; Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. £5.; Rev. J. W. Niblock, D.D. £1. 1s.

PRESENTS TO THE SOCIETY,

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME OF

ARCHÆOLOGIA.

1831.

The Life of Archbishop Cranmer, 2 vols. 8vo.	By the Rev. H. J. Todd.
The Christian's Magazine, Part I. 8vo.	By the Publisher.
Ductor Vindogladiensis, 8vo. A few Topographical Remarks, &c. 8vo.	By the Rev. P. Hall.
Proceedings of the Zoological Society, Part IV. 8vo.	By the Council of the Society.
An Inquiry, respecting the site of the Battle of Mons Grampius, 4to.	By Lieutenant-Colonel Miller.
Excerpta Historica, 8vo.	By Sam. Bentley, Esq.
National Portrait Gallery, Parts XXV.—XXXVI. folio.	By Wm. Jerdan, Esq.
An Address to the Literary and Philosophical Society at Kingston-upon-Hull, 8vo.	By Charles Frost, Esq.
The Journal of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Nos. III.—V. 8vo.	By the Managers of the Institution.
Five Silver Medals.	By Count M. Dietrichstein.
Reports of the Accounts of the Zoological Society, &c. 8vo.	By the Council of the Society.

Criteria for determining in which version of the Holy Scriptures the original Hebrew computation of time is contained, 8vo.	By J. Cullimore.
Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, &c. 8vo.	By the Council of the Society.
A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, 4to.	By Dr. Lee.
A coloured Print of a Roman Pavement, discovered at Pitney.	By S. Hasell, Esq.
The History of Modern Wiltshire: Hundreds of Westbury and Warminster, fol.	By Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart.
Disputatio Medica Inauguralis de Cholera Epidemica Indiæ Orientalis, 4to.	By Dr. Witt.
The Athenæum: Parts XXXVII.—XLII. 4to.	By the Proprietors.
Archæologia Scotica, Vol. III. Part II. and Vol. IV. Part I. 4to.	By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
List of Portraits in the possession of the Royal Society, 4to.	By the President and Council of the Society.
An Inquiry into the Geometrical character of the Hour Lines upon the antique Sun Dials, 4to.	By T. S. Davies, Esq.
The History of the Parish of St. Laurence Pountney, 4to.	By the Rev. Dr. H. B. Wilson.
Notices et extraits d'un Manuscrit Syriaque écrit à la Chine, &c. 4to.	By M. le Baron Silvester de Sacy.
The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XVI. Part II. 4to	By the President and Council of the Academy.
The Family Topographer, Vol. I. 8vo.	By Mr. Samuel Tymms.
Mémoires de la Société d' Émulation de Cambrai, 8vo. Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des Manuscrits de la Bibliothêque de Cambrai, 8vo. Programme des principales recherches à faire sur l'histoire et les antiquités du Départment du Nord, 8vo.	By Mons. le Docteur le Glay.

Thoughts on Orkney and Zetland, 8vo.	By A. G. Groat, Esq.
A View of the legal Institutions, &c. established in Ireland during the reign of Henry the Second, 8vo. The Law of Election in the antient Cities and Towns of Ireland, 8vo.	By W. Lynch, Esq.
Extracts from several Hieroglyphical subjects, found at Thebes, &c. 8vo.	By J. G. Wilkinson, Esq.
Warning to the British Public against the alarming approach of the Indian Cholera, 8vo.	By Sir G. Blane, Bart.
The Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Royal Humane Society, 8vo.	By the Society.
Catalogue of German Books and Maps, 12mo.	By Messrs. Black.
A Catalogue of the Fellows, &c. of the Royal College of Physicians, 8vo.	By the President and Council of the College.
A History of the Parish of Great Totham, in Essex, 8vo. *Printed for private circulation only.*	By G. W. Johnson, Esq.
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